



About the Author

Born on Christmas Day in Hunan, China, Ching-yu Hsu has led a distinguished career as a philosopher and statesman. He received his college education at Hunan College and later Oxford University. While a college student in Changsha, he was the president of the Hunan Student Union and led the anti-warlord campaign in which Mao Tse-Tung also played a role. Following this movement, in 1920 Hsu first entered what was to be a long opposition to Communism. He won a paper-war in Changsha in defeating Mao's attempt to make Hunan an independent nation.

Prior to his studies abroad, Hsu wrote several books in Chinese—the most interesting of which was *The Philosophy of Love* in which he formulated some of his ideals. Following his research at Oxford, Hsu traveled extensively in Europe, returning to China in 1926. From then until 1949 he taught philosophy at various universities and served intermittently in the central and provincial governments. His most important work was in 1936, when, while serving in Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters as Acting Chairman of the National Committee of Planning and concurrently as Commissioner of Interior of the Kuomintang Central Political Council, he presented to Chiang "A Plan for National General Mobilization against Japanese Aggression." Long kept secret, the plan showed remarkable foresight and was finally followed successfully against Japan. Unfortunately, however, his warnings against the dangers of cooperating with Mao were not followed with the well-known tragic results. Since his arrival in the United States in 1958, Hsu has continued his scholarly work and his endeavors to build a better China and a better world.

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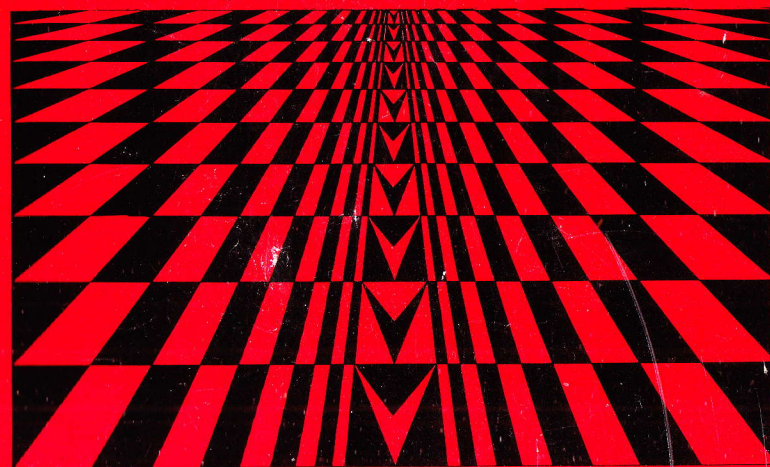
co-wealthism and the new age

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ching-yu hsu



CO-WEALTHISM
AND
THE NEW AGE

by

CHING-YU HSU

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COMMENTS ON CO-WEALTHISM

BY FRIENDS

"Professor Hsu has written a learned and very interesting book. He has a suggestion for an economic system between Capitalism and Marxism which he feels may appeal to the uncommitted peoples of the world. Particularly those who think of our type of government in terms of the old system of Capitalism and not as it really is today.

"I think this book would be extremely interesting reading for all those who are trying to understand the possibilities of different types of economies in different parts of the world." (Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt)

"I was interested to read your manuscript of Co-wealthism and to learn the efforts you are making to provide alternative policies toward the mainland of China." (John F. Kennedy, the late President of the United States)

"Professor Ching-yu Hsu has familiarity with Communist writings and is a scholar of world political and economic thought. He calls for the reconstruction of the United Nations to form a World Government. He sees it as necessary to effect disarmament and peace, to realize fair distribution of the earth's natural resources, and to stabilize the world's interdependent economies.

"In addition to endorsing politico-economic measures to ensure the freedom, independence and livelihood of all peoples, Prof. Hsu supports mass birth control, universal education, and elimination of pollution and disease. He has great faith in the potentiality of science to build a better world, provided it can cease building instruments of war. He envisions marine cities, weather control and agricultural utilization of deserts.

"The program set forth in his book is not free from vagueness and generalities. But every nation has its own cultural background with which the application of Co-wealthism must be in conformity. Accordingly, it is not inappropriate for Prof. Hsu to lay down an outline of principles which may serve as a sort of goal of politico-economic rebuilding.

"I personally stress that the West must change also. Perhaps through some process such as Co-wealthism the free world can draw together ideologically, outlast Communism, and then systematically and rationally set about to reconstruct the world as Prof. Hsu has urged. Thus we might finally grow out of social, political, and economic diseases which have continuously gripped civilization and out of which has come the great need for a book like this. It is certain that in this book Prof. Hsu has made a significant and potentially very fruitful contribution in our mutual effort not only to survive and surpass Communism, but to bring about a new world order on which depends a lasting world peace." (Darold Powers, writer)

"As a layman I am not qualified to comment on such a highly specialized politico-economic theory as Co-wealthism advocated by Professor Ching-yu Hsu who has been my intimate friend for more than fifty years. However, as a student of moral philosophy, I am of the opinion that neither Hedonism nor Rigorism should be considered the most idealistic conception of life. From the viewpoint of Chinese classical ethics, wealth must be regulated and guided by virtue. 'Virtue is the essence, while wealth is a minor thing.' (Great Learning, Chap. 10, V. 7)

"Living in a space age we must realize that our vision must be widened and that all international problems can by no means be solved short of a World Government. Meanwhile, an independent world university is badly needed in order that thousands of political leaders may be well capacitated to deal with the world problems.

"In short, what Co-wealthism stands for is not only a life of co-affluence, but also a life of co-virtue inasmuch as the term wealth, according to Webster's Dictionary, also means good and happiness. Obviously, a co-wealthy world as envisioned by Prof. Hsu implies literally a world commonwealth of "Chung Ho" (interdependence and harmony). Is it not the common goal of mankind?" (N. Z. Zia, former Professor of Philosophy at Nanking University, China)

"The merits of Co-wealthism lie in the fact that it stresses human value and freedom; it removes misunderstanding and brings to light the truth that the present-day Anglo-American

economy is no longer such Capitalism as condemned by Marxists; it gives the right answer to the problem of China; and, most important of all, it calls for interdependence and cooperation of all nations to bringing about a co-wealthy world-family in the long run.

"Let us not, however, be dismayed by the new term Co-wealthism. It is neither Socialism nor Capitalism. Virtually, it is a sort of new politico-economic philosophy of VIA MEDIA prepared by Prof. Ching-yu Hsu for meeting mankind's urgent requirements of the new age of space. Communism, being a kind of ideology, can be curbed or changed only by a better ideology. Such a forceful philosophical debate as set forth by Prof. Hsu is not inconsistent with the spirit of détente at all.

"The Communist leaders frequently insisted that détente and peaceful co-existence must be accompanied by ideological struggle by which they expect to dominate the world. Thus, the democracies should leave no stone unturned to catch up ideologically with the Communists so as to win the ideological war in the interest of world peace. Those who are concerned over the future of mankind, should take Co-wealthism into serious consideration and put it in force." (Fong Wong, former Professor of National Chung-san University, China)

CO-WEALTHISM
AND
THE NEW AGE

INTRODUCTION

With the progress of nuclear technology, with the launching of satellites into space and with the landing of man on the moon, the world is ushered into a new age. Mankind living in the new age is threatened by fear and inspired by hope: fear, because both humanity and civilization would be destroyed in a few hours in the event of an all-out nuclear war; hope, because the whole world, as a result of wide application of nuclear energy for peaceful and constructive purposes, would most likely be transformed to such an extent as to enable everybody to live an abundant and happy life, material as well as spiritual, undreamed of by our forefathers.

In the new age every intellectual should fulfill his or her new mission to remove man's fear and realize hope simultaneously. After years of serious contemplation I am led to the conclusion that the root of present-day world unrest lies in the confusion and error of thought resulting from false propaganda based on false ideology. The destiny of mankind relies on the substitution of a new and sound philosophy for the perverted ideology.

In view of this purpose, the preparation of this book was prompted. The reader is requested to take into serious consideration the following points:

First, Co-wealthism, however it seems more or less similar to the ideal of modern Socialism, stands by no means for the tenets and methods of the Socialists. Such practices as overall state ownership, planned economy, collectivization, etc. advocated by the Socialists not only deprive individuals of freedom but also give rise to a new privileged class and bureaucratism. Furthermore, the term "Socialism" has long been abused. A score of divergent

isms—from the most radical Communism to mild Fabianism—are all lumped together under the designation of "Socialism." It is self-contradictory as well as misleading.

Secondly, the present-day economic system of the United States is no longer the kind of Capitalism of the nineteenth century characterized by the exploitation of labor. As a result of drastic change in the past 60 years, the American economic order has been transformed to such a degree that it is far from that kind of Capitalism condemned by Karl Marx a century ago. George C. Lodge in his article, "The Truth about the American Economic System," rightly says that exploitative Capitalism has long since died in the United States. More than half of the output of American factories and mines is today produced by about 500 corporations, instead of being possessed by 500 families or individuals. These corporations have about 12,500,000 direct stockholders. And the economic power is widely distributed and becoming steadily more the possession of the many rather than the few. Now that the wealth in the United States is in the process of decentralization from the few to the many, it is therefore out of place to consider the American workers as proletarians.

Thirdly, Communism is negative in every respect, whereas Co-wealthism is positive so far as its theory and practice are concerned. The former emphasizes only equal distribution of property, the latter lays great stress on universal augmentation of wealth. By taking the property from the haves and giving it to the have-nots, the problem of the people's livelihood remains unsolved. Only through measures of increasing the world's wealth, such as the exploitation of the underdeveloped areas, the continuous discovery and wider use of new natural resources, the utilization of limitless marine products, the establishment of marine cities so as to accommodate more inhabitants from the over-peopled countries, and the universal application of both eugenics and eugenics, together with the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, can mankind enjoy a more abundant life. The outcome of practicing Communism is, as all have realized, that the rich become poor and the poor poorer. On the contrary, the result of implementing Co-wealthism would certainly enable the poor to become rich and the rich to become happier.

Fourthly, the secret of the Communist triumph in some countries depends on infiltration and internal subversion. In other words,

the Communists' basic strategy for world domination relies mainly on ideological war rather than military confrontation. Meanwhile, the most effective weapon for ideological war is nothing other than Marxism, which is, for the Communists, the only infallible bible of their religion. I am, therefore, strongly convinced that nothing could possibly curb the Communist expansion short of a new ideological drive based on a new politico-economic philosophy.

Fifthly, the struggle between human beings, whether it be class war, or racial, political, and religious conflict must be brought to an end; otherwise there would be no peace on earth whatsoever. Probably the only justifiable struggle should be the incessant strife of readjusting to nature, instead of against fellow human beings. Science also ought to be used to conquer all natural calamities, rather than being used for homicide. Nevertheless, the hostility between fellow human beings can never be halted, unless and until men's minds are full of love rather than hatred. It is not untrue that all man-made disasters in the past have resulted from man's mind. Who could possibly deny that the misfortunes occurring repeatedly in history have resulted mainly, if not completely, from the wrong thought of men? And who would doubt that on the transformation of man's mind depends world peace?

The history of human civilization is a record of human struggle for existence. From the Paleolithic Age down to the modern Atomic Age, the evolution of culture has undergone various periods and forms such as those characterized by struggle or slaughter and oppression or enslavement. These forms manifest a striving for individual as well as racial survival. The struggle for existence is carried on in different ways at different times: from a barbarous manner to a more civilized mode; from individual strife to a tribal and collective conflict; from contention between man and wild animals to struggle between man and man. Finally, it proceeds from the struggle of man with man to the struggle of man with nature; and it culminates, in its most advanced stage, in reciprocal love and mutual aid among fellow human beings.

In the modern Atomic Age, human survival must be sought in man's cooperation instead of human contention. Otherwise, the human race and world civilization will be ruined. It is, there-

fore, imperative that we change the method of maintaining man's existence, since the struggle between man and man is neither morally justifiable nor practically feasible. Living at a time when nuclear weapons are developing in full swing, we have no other alternative but to be subject to the destiny of collective annihilation, if the strife between man and man cannot be brought to an end.

It is indisputable that only through mutual aid and cooperation can a lasting peace be maintained; likewise, only in peace can men live together continuously, with world civilization being developed and carried on successively. As a matter of fact, man is not satisfied with merely a bare living. What he desires is happiness—a life of pleasure and abundance. When civilization is more advanced, man's spiritual desire, let alone material longing, is expanded. He is no longer content with material enjoyment alone. Obviously, the main objective for the study and development of all social and natural sciences aims at the satisfaction of man's wants, both material and spiritual. Politically, human society has, prior to the achievement of today's democracy, undergone such old institutions as Theocracy, Despotism, Feudalism, Mercantilism, Physiocracy, Socialism and Communism. The existing Anglo-American economic order, whose essence differs greatly from what was practiced fifty years ago, still has much room for further improvement. It is entirely out of Marx's expectation that modern economic institutions have changed so swiftly and drastically. What Marx thought to be an effective remedy for the economic evils of his time is not only unable to solve present-day social problems, but becomes the very hindrance to social progress.

Of course, man in maintaining existence demands continuity of life on the one hand, and simultaneously desires a life full of meaning and value on the other. "Man shall not live by bread alone" proves true everywhere. Should any economic system, no matter whether it be Communism or Socialism, aims only at the solution of the bread problem, it would, at the utmost, merely make every man a fat hog. Furthermore, any institution having as its object a material life alone would undoubtedly defeat its own purpose. Since the revolution of 1917, a half-century has elapsed in the Soviet Union. The Russians experienced, under the rule of Marxism-Leninism, military Communism, the New Economic Policy, collectivization, and what-not. Even today the

Russians' living standard, though improved to some extent, is still far from happy and prosperous. During the past fifty years the Soviet authorities have left no stone unturned in preaching and enforcing Communism.

Meanwhile, the sacrifice of life and liberty on the part of the Soviet people is unprecedented in history. So far as individual freedom is concerned, it is doubtful whether the Soviet people, under the tyrannical Communist hierarchy, really live a happier life than under the Tsarist regime. Apart from the loss of freedom, people's livelihood is still far from being satisfactory. Consumers cannot get what they want from the market. More than once the Kremlin authorities have admitted that agriculture and industrial productivity lag behind, and that people's scale of living needs further betterment. The fact that they insist on exploitation in Siberia and the increase of consumer goods evidently indicates that the economic life of the masses in the Soviet Union today is anything but satisfactory.

Probably the only harvest reaped by the Soviet regime is the spectacular development of heavy industry, together with the strengthening of military power. Consequently, nuclear power and other military preparations have been accelerated at the expense of the people's butter. Unfortunately, a lot of radical elements in various countries are cherishing the wishful thinking that their brilliant prospects lie in the enforcement of Marxism. They fail to realize that Marxism is outmoded and anachronistic, and that the nations which have adopted Marxism can in no way catch up with the economic growth of the free nations. Evidently, it is just as unwise to let old Capitalism resuscitate at present as blindly to take Marxian Communism as the remedy for today's economic evils.

What is the right economic order that would lead us to a bright future? Should we return to the old road of Capitalism? It is against the *zeitgeist*. Should we follow the footsteps of the Socialists or Communists? The horrible tragedy of bloodshed in both the Soviet Union and Communist China suffices to warn us to get away from them. Neither the extreme right nor the extreme left offers any hope for a better world. We have to concur with both Confucius and Aristotle that the doctrine of the mean—truth lies between two extremes—remains infallible forever. Co-wealthism, as being the *via media*, stands essentially for the

doctrine of the mean. It is neither utopian phantasy nor the so called compromise of the petty bourgeoisie.

Communists, like Socialists, focus their demands on the public ownership of all private instruments of production, and on turning all private property into public resources. What they stress constantly is negative distribution. They have not yet found a proper solution to positive production. When one takes into serious consideration the problem of distribution, one cannot but admit that in the Communist countries, as a result of all-over state control and state ownership, the most evidently evil consequence is that it gives rise to bureaucratism, a decrease in productivity, dislocation between demand and supply, and all other man-made disasters. No one should, however, doubt the lofty ideal of various Socialisms. To wipe out all social inequalities has hitherto been the final objective of all Socialists, but their good motivation, along with their noble ideal, has resulted in a totally-delusive dream on account of their inappropriate measures and impractical programs, which are opposed to human nature as well as to the law of social development. Consequently, what professed to promote the welfare of the people merely solidified the party dictatorship instead of furthering the well-being of the masses.

The whole universe is in the process of change. Change is the law of nature as well as the rule of social progress. There must be change when things come to an end; if not, the law of social progress is violated. "When a series of changes has run all its course, another change ensues."¹ This is the traditional dialectics of China, originating from one of the ancient classics—the *Yi Ching*, the Book of Changes. The dialectics explicated in the *Yi Ching* is at least two thousand years earlier than that of Hegel. Human history is, in fact, a record of change. After its invention, for instance, the steam engine breaks down the handicraft industry and eventually prompts the Industrial Revolution. By the same token, in the wake of the Industrial Revolution social wealth is concentrated steadily in the hands of the Capitalists and leads to the growth of Capitalism. The development of Capitalism enrages the working class on the one hand and breeds overproduction, unemployment and unequal distribution on the other. Thus, it paves the way for Socialism and Communism. Now that

¹Appendix, Section II, *Yi Ching*.

Capitalism, in consequence of drastic change during the past fifty years or so, disappears; Communism, as a result of repeated failure in China and the Soviet Union, is at the last gasp; naturally, it requires a new economic order to meet the urgent needs of a new age. Co-wealthism, as a new ideology based on a new politico-economic philosophy, serves not only as the substitute for Socialism or Communism, but also as dynamic power for rebuilding a new economic and social order.

The term Socialism was first used in 1835. The past hundred years' social progress, scientific improvement and development of economic life have embodied remarkably epoch-making events. For instance, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels was published more than a century ago. When Engels wrote a preface for its German edition in 1872, he said: "In view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated . . . also the remarks on the relation of the Communists to various opposition parties (Section IV), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been changed."² Engels in 1872 pointed out clearly that a part of the *Manifesto* was out of date.

It is, therefore, absolutely justifiable to maintain that the outmoded ism should be replaced by a progressive ism. Prior to 1969, it was the old age—an age of strife and killing. The American astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin E. Aldrin, Jr. first landed on the moon on July 20, 1969, and mankind began to live in a new age. Human beings in this new age ushered in by interplanetary communication should live together peacefully and write a new chapter in world history, one of reconciliation and cooperation. All the past evils revealed in hatred, tyranny, killing, etc. should no longer be tolerated. A new era advocated by the Co-wealthists is a new world in which hate must be replaced by love, peace substituted for war, and everybody be entitled to live an abundant life, both material and spiritual. The world has learned a lesson from the Communist countries that the outcome of en-

²Engels F., Preface to the German Edition of 1872, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

forcing Communism is simply that the rich become poor and the poor poorer. Contrarily, we are confident that when Co-wealthism is implemented in the days to come the poor will all be rich and the rich happier. Now mankind are facing a new challenge and coming to the crossroads. It is time for all of us to make a wise decision as to what direction we should proceed.

Chapter I

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CO-WEALTHISM

(1) *Why the New Term?*

The term "Co-wealthism" is derived from the word "wealth," whose Latin equivalent is "*divitiae*." This word, like its Chinese equivalent, "*Fu*," includes the double meaning of welfare and prosperity, which stands for an abundant life, both material and spiritual. According to the Chinese classics, such as Shang Shu and the Confucian *Analects*, the word wealth refers mainly to material riches, whereas in the Book of Changes (*Yi Ching*) and the Book of Chuang Tzu, the word wealth is used to account for something spiritual rather than material. The "Chu Li," a chapter in the *Li Chi* (The Book of Rites), interprets wealth in terms of happiness. It is also stated in the Appendix of the *Yi Ching* that "wealth means gigantic task." In like manner Chuang Tzu, the philosopher (d. 275 B.C.), asserted in the chapter "Heaven and Earth" that wealth is what embodies innumerable varieties.

What is mentioned above suffices to prove that wealth is both material riches and spiritual welfare. It should neither be interpreted in the material sense alone nor regarded entirely as spiritual. True welfare or happiness is, of course, based on a happy spiritual life coupled with a decent material life; for lack of either of these two would be anything but welfare and happiness. A well-clothed and well-fed man, for instance, is not always a happy and contented man. In fact, the spiritually-distressed people, however rich they may be, are far more unhappy than the poverty-stricken people. Obviously, what makes a man happy is by no

means material riches alone; there must be something spiritual added to make one's life more abundant and meaningful.

A true spiritually-happy life depends upon the fulfillment of five basic conditions: (1) Apart from all sorts of daily necessities and daily routine, one must have plenty of leisure for some other delightfully creative activities. (2) One should, under any circumstances, be legally entitled to freedom of speech, freedom of faith, freedom of travel, freedom of press, freedom of criticism, etc. (3) Personal security and dignity should be safeguarded legally without being threatened or insulted by individuals or groups. (4) The individual's property and honor should be protected by law. (5) Everybody should have an equal right and opportunity to study, appreciate and create in the fields of the arts, science, philosophy and culture, subject to no political restriction whatever. These five conditions are minimum prerequisites required by everybody to live spiritually a happy life. Unless every member of society enjoys a life based on these five prerequisites, that society is far from being democratic, let alone happy. It is of necessity to realize that the ultimate aim of Co-wealthism lies in the furtherance of people's living by means of elevating their material and spiritual level. In other words, an ideal life desired by all depends upon adequate provision of food, clothing and shelter on the one hand; and upon full enjoyment of intellectual as well as aesthetic life.

Viewing it from the economic standpoint alone, wealth refers merely to a stock of goods possessing money value. Economics is, therefore, generally considered the science of wealth. Alfred Marshall (1842-1924) points out in his *Principles of Economics* that economics deals with wealth and, more significantly, studies man. Indeed, wealth was originally synonymous with well-being, the opposite of "illth." In short, economics aims at promotion of human welfare by the study of wealth. According to J. S. Mill (1806-1873), even the skill, energy and perseverance of the artisans of the country are reckoned a part of its wealth, no less than their tools and machinery. Furthermore, in his *The Scope and Method of Political Economy*, J. M. Keynes says that wealth consists of "all potentially exchangeable means of satisfying human needs." All that which can satisfy human needs is, of course, not confined to money, nor is what is exchangeable limited to things material. Having made clear the connotation of the term wealth,

I shall now bring forth the definition of Co-wealthism as follows:

Co-wealthism calls for the abolition of all economic and political systems characterized by exploitation and dictatorship, through the medium of political, economic and educational reform measures based on democratic legislation and scientific technology. This will enable every member of society, regardless of racial, national, or religious distinctions, to enjoy an abundant life materially and spiritually. It calls for the uprooting of hatred and struggle among fellow human beings; for the furtherance of man's mind and readjustment of nature; and finally for the establishment, under the leadership of World Government, of a free, peaceful, and united world."

(3) *The Necessity of Names Rectification*

The rectification of names is unquestionably of great significance. It goes without saying that the world's chaos is always due to the confusion between right and wrong. This confusion is in turn the outcome of an inadequate understanding of truth on the part of man. This is well-illustrated by the ancient Chinese philosopher Chuang Tzu, who states: "Because of the right there is the wrong, and because of the wrong there is the right. . . .

"The 'this' is also 'that', the 'that' is also 'this'. The 'that' has a system of right and wrong. The 'this' also has a system of right and wrong. Is there really a distinction between 'that' and 'this'? But to discriminate 'that' and 'this' as opposites is the very essence of Tao. Only the essence, an axis as it were, is the center of the circle responding to the endless changes. The right is an endless change. The wrong is also an endless change."¹

Evidently both right and wrong are relative. Everybody has his own standard of judgment which differs from another. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to have a clear-cut demarcation between right and wrong. Is there really no objective standard by which the right may be distinguished from the wrong? Then what, if any, is that standard? The answer to this question must be sought in logic and philosophy. The solution to the problem of right and wrong lies, according to Chuang Tzu, in one's

¹ Fung Yu-lan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, translated by Derk Bodde, Vol. I, p. 232.

"enlightenment." Instead of denying the existence of truth, Chuang Tzu stresses the necessity of having clear thinking and correct conception in relation to objective things so that truth may be thoroughly apprehended. Accordingly, he asserts that it is by enlightenment alone that the real right as well as the real wrong can be discriminated without fail.

Nevertheless, a right conception results from the rectification of names. Confucius rightly says: "If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things; if language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. . . . Therefore, a superior man considers it imperative that the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately. What the superior man requires is just that in his words there may be nothing incorrect."²

The present world tension is no doubt due to the thought conflict between East and West. We hear nowadays a good many abusive expressions from the cold-war propaganda of both sides. One curses the other as the pawn of the Capitalists; whereas the other reviles the opponent as the slave of the Communists. Meanwhile, there is another kind of Socialism advocated by the British Labor Party, and the designation of Soviet Russia is U.S.S.R. (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Let us ponder for a moment: are both Great Britain and the United States of America actually capitalistic countries in the true sense of the word? Is the economic order being practiced in the Soviet Union and her satellites actually Communism? Is the kind of Capitalism condemned by Karl Marx a century ago still surviving today in the democratic nations? Moreover, we must contemplate seriously with regard to the exact definition of all these controversial isms. What is Capitalism? What is Socialism? And what is Communism? Unfortunately, none of the cold-war propagandists has ever had a clear conception concerning the exact connotation of all these terminologies. The Kremlin politicians not only berate Capitalism, but also shout all kinds of abuse against Socialism.

The Soviet Union has, however, forgotten that she is named the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. At the same time the state ownership of productive means together with the state control

²Confucian *Analects*, Book III.

of distribution and consumption enforced in the Soviet Union allows itself to be called a country of "State Capitalism" instead of Communism. Is it not ridiculous that the Communists themselves are still at a loss as to how to define Capitalism, Socialism and Communism? In like manner, many people in the democratic countries still believe that the Anglo-American economic order is Capitalism. These people are of course as nonsensical as the Communist propagandists, so far as their understanding of semantics is concerned. Again, these people, like the Communists, fail to realize that the Anglo-American workers, as a result of labor legislation, are no longer working more than eight hours per day. And their wages are adjusted from time to time in accordance with the fluctuation of prices. Especially the workers in America enjoy a far better life than workers either in the Soviet Union or in Communist China. Not only has their welfare been considerably promoted, but the distribution of wealth has been gradually socialized in many ways in consequence of law-enforcement, such as the Anti-Trust Act, Minimum Wage Act, Social Insurance Act, etc.

In the United States, for instance, the total income of rich families in 1917 (those with income of \$25,000 or more) was seven per cent of the national revenue, or not more than \$1,000,000,000. Let us bear in mind that the total consumption of the United States in 1944 amounted to \$90,000,000,000, and that the total income of all wealthy families was, in the same year, not in excess of \$2,000,000,000. Despite the fact that in the United States today there were 12 million people undermined by poverty-level income, the average American per capita annual income in 1968 amounted to \$3,421. In the Soviet Union the average annual income per capita is \$1,057. In Communist China the average annual income per capita in 1966 was \$100. With reference to the Gross National Product, the contrast between East and West is also great. The G.N.P. of the United States in 1969 totaled 942.3 billion; of the Soviet Union in 1967, 249 billion; of Communist China in 1966, 80 billion.

Another figure worthy of notice is that, from 1929 to 1946, the increase in the national revenue of the United States amounted to ninety per cent; simultaneously, increase of the workers' income totaled one hundred per cent. In 1929 wages amounted to eighty-two per cent of the total costs of production; while in

1945, ninety per cent of production costs were wages. That is to say, the profit going to the so-called Capitalists is only six per cent. Obviously, the largest proportion of the national income of the United States during the past twenty years has been the wages of the workers. No wonder the American workers can enjoy television at home and drive their own cars while out for work.

It is the high income tax of the United States—probably the highest of the world—that has made impossible the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few. For example, in 1952 a family of four whose income was up to \$3,000 had to pay \$660 income tax. One has to pay income tax as much as \$2,452 if his income reaches \$10,000. When one's income goes up to \$50,000, one must pay \$25,672 for income tax. If one's income advances to \$100,000, he has to pay tax as high as \$57,800. In short, the greater one's income, the more tax one has to pay. This is, no doubt, one of the most effective measures for preventing capital concentration in the hands of the wealthy minority. The direct taxation as such was not anticipated in the age of Karl Marx. Thus, the kind of Capitalism condemned by him has disappeared in consequence of the drastic change of the past fifty years.

Capitalism, in the strict sense of the word, implies private enterprise based on exploitation of the working class. The characteristics of private enterprise are twofold: (1) All sources and instruments of production such as land, mines, factories, machinery, etc. are owned by private persons. (2) All profits of production are monopolized by private entrepreneurs. The history of Capitalism is not so short as ordinary people imagine. It starts to grow at a time when the private ownership of land begins to be established as an economic institution in the early period of the agricultural community.

During the period of Chun Chiu (722-481 B.C.) and the Fighting States (481-422 B.C.) in Chinese history, like the Greco-Roman period in European history, the first stage of Capitalism had come into being. In this period, as in later times, monopoly, manipulation and speculation among the merchants not only occurred but were prevalent to some extent. The masses of people in those days were just as much dissatisfied with monopoly and speculation by the Capitalists then as are modern people. The evidence of attack on the first-stage Capitalism by ancient oriental

thinkers is by no means uncommon. Mencius, for instance, condemned the monopolistic businessman as a mean fellow; and Confucius maintained: "What the rulers should be concerned about is inequality rather than scarcity."³ Prior to the writing of Plato's *Republic*, Euripides regarded the wealthy man as an avaricious, insatiate and useless fellow. According to Plato, in an ideal society there should be no distinction between rich and poor; and the Guardians, who are entrusted with the responsibility of rule, are not entitled to private property.

In fact, the public mind of old reacted to the phenomenon of Capitalism in much the same way as it does in our time. It cried out against all economic abuses resulting from the capitalistic order. Moreover, the development of Capitalism was accelerated by the inflow of American silver and gold. The growth of Capitalism in Europe was enhanced by the rise of Mercantilism, which lasted until the end of the 18th century. Nations struggled for national aggrandizement through competition for colonial enterprise. They vied with one another in trying to secure the biggest share in the slave trade, doing business sword in hand. Consequently, while most of the merchants were happy with their heavy purses, extreme poverty was widespread among the masses.

Both agriculture and industry were successfully revolutionized as a result of accelerated improvement in technology and organization. This gave rise to a sort of intact Capitalism which prevailed in Europe from the Napoleonic wars to the end of 19th century. From the last period of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the development of Capitalism has brought to mankind numerous blessings as well as tremendous curses. Even Karl Marx himself admitted in his *Manifesto* of the Communist Party that an overwhelming increase in production and wealth, the betterment of transportation and communication, along with the progress of social culture are, as a matter of fact, the outcome of modern Capitalism. On the contrary, such evil consequences as the misery of the working class, unemployment, business cycles, the struggle for the domination of international markets, the seizure of colonies, and aggressive wars or Imperialism cannot but be attributed to Capitalism, which is

³Confucian *Analects*, Book XVI.

the main cause of world unrest. In view of the social upheaval brought about by Capitalism, various Socialisms were brought forth one after another in the hope of uprooting the evil caused by the capitalistic economy.

During the past sixty years some enterprises have, as the effect of the labor movement, become state-owned or under governmental control in both Britain and the United States. All private enterprises, though not under excessive interference of the government, are still subject to government supervision and regulation. In other words, the government did what it could to enforce anti-trust acts or other regulations with a view to preventing speculation and monopoly. It is indisputable that the Anglo-American economic order of the present day is no longer the old Capitalism based on the exploitation of the working class and seizing private profit regardless of the consumers' well-being. It is, therefore, quite unbecoming to regard the present-day economic system of both Great Britain and America as Capitalism. Herein lies the necessity of the rectification of terminology.

Now that Capitalism has become merely a historical terminology, there is, therefore, no ground whatsoever for its resuscitation. It should not, from the viewpoint of justice and social progress, be restored at any rate. Should we then advocate Socialism? No, by no means—simply because it is against the tide of social progress; opposed to the unanimous desire of the people in various lands; and, most important of all, it is just as anachronous as Communism. By the same token, the term Socialism first appeared in 1835 and has long been so seriously abused that, not only has its original implication been confused, but its content has suffered also from extreme complication. Such isms as Syndicalism, Fabianism, Guild Socialism, State Socialism, Anarchism and Communism are all lumped together under the designation of Socialism. From the most radical Bolshevism to the most mild Fabianism, one may make a long list of divergent schools; yet they all called themselves Socialists. As this is the case, the term Socialism, being so wrongly used and so self-contradictory, should no longer be applied. How could we make a clear distinction between right and wrong were an ox called a horse?

Chinese scholars emphasize the fact that literature should be loaded with the Tao (Way or principle), and that the Tao or principle cannot be separated from the literature or language.

Where literature and language exist there should be the Tao. This is true also in the field of Western philosophy. The term "*logos*," for instance, may be rendered as the "word," which is equivalent to the idea of Tao. Here as elsewhere is positively reflected the significance of the rectification of names. In fact, it is the key to the correct understanding of truth as well as the basis of logic and semasiology.

Should the thinkers today, in dealing with the problem of economic reform, still stick to the use of the old term Socialism, the people would certainly be confused and would immediately ask what kind of Socialism they were talking about. If one attacks Communism from the viewpoint of Fabianism, one is actually attacking Socialism by means of Socialism, in consideration of the fact that Communism itself is, as a matter of fact, a sort of Socialism. On the one hand, one group of Socialists, like the Fabianists, strongly lays claim to democracy and freedom. But on the other hand, another group of Socialists, like the Communists bases its rule on dictatorship. Accordingly it reminds us again what Chuang Tzu declares: "How is Tao obscured that there should be a distinction between true and false? How is speech obscured that there should be distinction between right and wrong? Where is Tao not present? Where is speech not appropriate? Tao is obscured by partiality. Speech is obscured by eloquence."⁴ In order to have a proper understanding of what is right and what is wrong, and to lead man's thought in the right direction, we must from now on not use the term Socialism at random.

Co-wealthism has an advantage over Socialism in the sense that it covers the ideal and spirit of Socialism: yet it is free from all its drawbacks. Co-wealthism, unlike Socialism, disentangles itself from complication and contradiction. At the same time, Co-wealthism, having adopted all the merits of Capitalism and avoided all its defects, is neither the traditional Socialism nor the conventional Capitalism. It is the product as well as the harbinger of a new age.

(1) *The Demand of the Age*

Every ism stands for a new philosophy which owes its forma-

⁴Chuang Tzu, *Chi Wu Lun*.

tion partly to the creative thinking of individuals and partly to the demand of the age. In other words, any ism, whatever it may be, originates from and is molded by the environment. Every individual's genius or character, though more or less shaped by inheritance, owes its development to the environment, which exercises considerable influence upon the individual's mind, and vice versa. Obviously, environment affects man's mentality and man's mentality alters environment. Each other's reciprocal impact seems to be equally evident. Let us take the European Renaissance as an illustration. It could never have had a tremendous influence had it not been facilitated by such historically significant events as the Crusades; the importation of Arabian culture, the invasion of the Mongols led by Genghis Khan; the circulation of Marco Polo's Travels; the discovery of the new continent; the development of printing, together with the growth of the paper industry.

European civilization, on account of the marvelous achievement of the Renaissance, created a new era. Philosophically, it produced humanism, which set Christianity free from the Papacy and heightened the dignity of man along with the opportunities for the development of individuality. Politically, it hastened the independence of national states and disseminated the seeds of democracy and liberty. Religiously, it paved the way for the Reformation Movement of Martin Luther. Scientifically, it furthered the free spirit of studies and laid a foundation for the application of scientific method and experimentation. Meanwhile, it is generally admitted that the American Independence in 1776, the French Revolution in 1789, the swift advance of the natural sciences in the 18th century, and the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, are all related to and affected by the Renaissance in one way or another. Undoubtedly it is due to the demand of the age that a new ideology and a new system emerge successively. In like manner we are able to realize how Co-wealthism comes into being.

Since world civilization has already entered an atomic-space age, human life will, thereafter, undergo great change both materially and spiritually. Today's *zeitgeist* cannot be completely apprehended from the old viewpoint of the 19th century. The new age gives rise to new demands. All the old, outmoded and contradictory isms and systems will certainly be discarded and re-

placed by new ideas and new institutions. This sort of transformation may be likened to physiological metabolism—a process in the organism or single cell by which nutritive material is built up into living matter or protoplasm is broken down into simpler substances (anabolism and catabolism). Such is also true with the evolution of both human society and the universe.

One is bound to be anachronistic if, while living in an atomic age, one still follows blindly the Capitalism condemned by Marx, or praises dogmatically the antiquated Communism and Socialism. As the Capitalism berated by Marxists is already obsolete, so is Communism. Some American thinkers realize that the name Capitalism, which has created misunderstanding and criticism to undermine American prestige, should have been discarded long ago. They are of the opinion that what exists today economically should be termed "Democratic Capitalism," "People's Capitalism," "Free Enterprise," or "Economic Humanism"—as preferred by Henry Cabot Lodge. It is true that the present American economic order is neither Capitalism nor Socialism. It is a sort of mixed economy. So long as the term Capitalism itself is misleading, it must be replaced by a better term. But it does not, it seems to me, help very much in the way of avoiding misunderstanding by adding such adjectives as "democratic" and "people's."

In 1964 a research report of the United States Information Agency discovered that the more American propaganda advertises the virtues of "Capitalism" and attacks "Socialism," the less the world likes the Americans. Having studied conclusions of its poll-takers in both hemispheres, the U.S.I.A. observes: "Capitalism is evil. The United States is the leading capitalist country. Therefore the United States is evil." Most people in foreign countries do not consider Capitalism descriptive of an efficient economy or a safeguard of individual rights. To them it means little, if any, concern for the poor, unfair distribution of wealth and undue influence of the rich. This of course frustrates Americans to no small degree. To millions of Asians, Africans and Latin Americans, let alone Marxists or Socialists, Capitalism is a dirty word. Most anti-American agitations have something to do with the misunderstanding that the United States is the number-one capitalist nation.

I concur with C. L. Sulzberger, who in his article "Should the Old Labels Be Changed?" asserted: "There is surely no sense

Of course, not all criticisms are completely justifiable. Some of them are not free from subjective prejudice; some deal only with specific issues so technically specialized as to make them utterly unintelligible to the layman. Meanwhile, the book *Das Kapital* itself suffers from self-contradiction in many ways and puzzles the reader to such an extent that he can hardly finish his reading. The second and third volume of *Das Kapital* were compiled by Marx's friend Engels, who collected Marx's manuscripts and published the second volume in 1885 and the third in 1894. Only the first volume, published in 1867, was completely prepared by Marx himself. Twenty-seven years elapsed from the publication of the first volume to the issuing of the third. These two volumes, being posthumous works, were not corrected by Marx; therefore, they are not free from contradictions. What I am going to criticize is, however, the fundamental principle of Marxian philosophy, not the trifling errors.

Every thinker, as I have pointed out previously, is subject to the influence of environment. Marx is, of course, no exception to this rule. Marx, while living in London as an exile, saw clearly with his own eyes all the evils in the train of the Industrial Revolution: long hours, low wages, filthy surroundings, along with other distresses. It is simply natural that Marx, who experienced a miserable family life and political oppression by his own country, together with other frustrations, harbored bitter resentment against what was then Capitalism. Financially Marx could hardly maintain his family but for Engels' constant aid. Apart from material hardship, he also had undergone a good deal of mental agony. As a result of all these repressions which affected his mentality in no small degree, he was psychologically forced to have recourse to such radical measures as class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not too much to say that his revolutionary fanaticism was merely the product of environment, coupled with his innate extremism.

Marxism, based on the doctrine of the materialistic interpretation of history, the theory of surplus value, class war and the dictatorship of proletariat, must be reevaluated objectively.

(1) *Materialistic Interpretation of History*

Engels in his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* declares: "These two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of

history and the revelation of the secret of capitalistic production through surplus value, we owe to Marx. With these discoveries socialism became science."¹ As a matter of fact, Marx's materialistic conception of history derives from Hegelian dialectic and Fauerbach's materialism. In order to have a clearer understanding of Marx's dialectic, one has first of all to grasp Hegel's philosophy of history, the essential tenets of which are (1) The real is rational, and the rational is real. (2) The absolute is spiritual and ideal, and it is also the unification of the subject and object. (3) The state, as Hegel detailed in his *Philosophy of History*, is the actual existing moral life, and at the same time it is the divine idea as it exists on earth. The interest of each state, for Hegel, is its own highest law. There is no striking contrast between morals and politics because states are not subject to ordinary moral laws. Meanwhile, the state does not, Hegel emphasizes, exist for individuals, but individuals for the state.

Hegel adopted the word "dialectic" from Plato's dialogues, and based his view of historical process on the old Greek speculations about nature. The idea that historical process goes by opposition is shared in common by classical philosophers, both Oriental and Occidental. That every tendency when carried to the full breeds an opposite tendency which destroys it is an old conception of the universe and life advocated by the ancient Chinese philosophers, whose doctrine of Yin and Yang (Negative and Affirmative) constitutes the essentials of the Book of Changes (*Yi Ching*). The world, according to Hegel, must be considered an endlessly-moving equilibrium. All social development or evolution may be interpreted in terms of change, which is at once continuous and discontinuous, carrying forward the past and also breaking with it in order to create something new. The change proceeds towards a consummation which, however, it can never reach.

Hegel's dialectical methodology may be illustrated as follows. He took it for granted that "the Absolute is Pure Being"; this is what he termed "thesis." But Pure Being without any qualities is nothing; therefore we are led to the "antithesis," "The Absolute is Nothing." The union of Being and Not-Being is Becoming, hence the formation of "synthesis"—"The Absolute is

¹Marx & Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 136.

Becoming." All knowledge, for Hegel and Marx, starts from objective sensation (thesis), proceeds to subjective judgment (anti-thesis), and finally results in unitary self-consciousness through the unification of the subject and object (synthesis). Affirmation is followed by negation and negation of negation.

The notion that history is a process of becoming originates neither from Hegel nor from Marx. As early as 500 B.C. Heraclitus pointed out that everything is and is not, for everything is fluid—constantly changing, and constantly coming into being and passing away. The notion of change is also strongly stressed in the Book of Changes (*Yi Ching*), which begins with the "Chien" Hexagram and ends with the "Wei Chi" Hexagram. These two hexagrams indicate that the universe is constantly in the process of evolution. The "Chien" Hexagram stands for Heaven, whose attribute is ceaseless activity; whereas the "Wei Chi" Hexagram accounts for the fact that success or achievement of anything can never be expected to be final, inasmuch as the universe is constantly changing. According to the Appendix of the *Yi Ching*, the meaning of "Yi" is ceaseless growth, and the basic virtue of Heaven and Earth is production.² This naturally leads to the conclusion that human life, like the universe, is unceasingly coming into being and passing away, and that the notion of change shared in common by ancient Greek and Chinese philosophers is by no means a new conception of Hegel, let alone Marx. The vicissitudes of the world as well as the destiny of man are subject to the transformation of three processes, so far as the tenet of the *Yi* is concerned. A life of happiness is always accompanied by unhappiness; yet unhappiness may be turned into happiness again by virtue of self-discipline or repentance. These three processes may be illustrated as follows:



²Appendix 1, The Book of Changes.

It proves to be utterly true collectively as well as individually, since everyone is bound to experience the ups and downs of life, and every nation has to take its share of prosperity and depression. If one, at a time of happiness, indulges in self-conceit or license, he will certainly suffer misfortune. On the contrary, if one knows how to live a happy life through self-discipline or repentance, he will no doubt enjoy a peaceful and cheerful life. Judging from the theory of creation, biologically established by Darwin and Bergson respectively, we cannot but admit that the dialectic of the Book of Changes, which bears some resemblance to the dialectic of Hegel, may serve to account for the real feature of historical development.

While Marx was versed in Hegelian philosophy and adopted his dialectic, he turned Hegel's idealism into materialism. Hegel's philosophical impact on Marx is well confirmed by Engels, who says: "For it (dialectical philosophy) nothing is final, absolute and sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher."³ In fact, Marx's materialism resembles in no small measure that of Feuerbach, who holds that Hegelian premundane existence of the absolute idea, the existence of the logical categories before the world existed, is nothing more than the fantastic survival of the belief in the existence of an extramundane creator; while the material world to which we belong is the only reality. According to Feuerbach our consciousness and thought, however suprasensuous they may seem, are the product of a material brain. "Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter."⁴

Undoubtedly Marx's philosophical outlook was greatly influenced by Feuerbach. Thus, Marx maintains that human consciousness is determined by a social being, not vice versa. In his Preface to *The Critique of Political Economy* he asserts: "The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary,

³F. Engels, *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, Marx & Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 362.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 362.

their social being that determines their consciousness."⁵ Again he says: "My dialectic is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of idea, he even transforms into an independent subject, is the *demiurgos* of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of the idea. With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."⁶

We must, however, bear in mind that Marx's materialism, though being in opposition to Hegelian idealism, is not so much related to philosophical ontology or epistemology as to economics. The economic life or the mode of production is, for Marx, the basis of history, whose changes, political, social and legal, should always be attributed to the transformation of productive methods.

The productive forces develop step by step under the mode of hand-working industry, and gives rise to the feudal system. The outcome of a large-scale production of mechanic industry leads to a capitalistic society. Interpreting it in terms of Marxian dialectic, the hand-working industry representing feudal society is what Marx called Thesis; the mode of mechanical production conflicting with the hand-working industry is what he termed Antithesis; and this conflict brings forth Capitalism as Synthesis. Marx, starting from this dialectic, regarded the economic forces as the dynamic for social development. Consequently, his materialistic conception of history is nothing more or less than an economic interpretation of history, which, as based on materialism, is also termed a materialistic interpretation of history, or economic determinism.

According to Marx, the social structure is made what it is by relations of production. That is to say, a certain relation of production brings about a certain type of society. All institutions, ancient and modern, are changed in the wake of the transformation of the economic order, which is, from the point of view of historical development, the basic force of cultural progress. The problem of bread has, therefore, become the sole issue of greatest importance. This issue is, as it were, the foundation for culture-building. While admitting the significance of the close relevancy

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 456.

of economics to human life, we should on no account neglect the fact that "Man shall not live by bread alone." Mencius, a noted Chinese philosopher in the period of the Fighting States (481-221 B.C.), warns us: "If people are well fed, warmly clad, and comfortably lodged, without being educated at the same time, they become almost like the beasts."

Nobody can possibly deny the fact that cultural progress is made possible only by a twofold prerequisite: an adequate material livelihood coupled with a steadily advancing pattern of spiritual life. The so-called relations of production can determine only the material side of life, not the spiritual side of it. What constitutes the essentials of spiritual life is the appreciation of arts, the belief in religion, the search for knowledge and truth, the struggle for liberty, and the longing for self-realization. All these spiritual aspirations and desires can in no way be satisfied by material conditions alone, however desirable they may be. Evidently, man's spiritual longing has nothing to do with economic issues. This has been proved true by the fact that in whatever age man had lived, be it that of hand-working industry or mechanical industry, his spiritual desires would not be affected by the relations of production. In other words, one's love of beauty, one's desire of acquiring knowledge, one's religious faith, etc. would remain the same no matter whether one lives before the Industrial Revolution or after.

Man is endowed with two basic instincts: the instinct of self-preservation and that of propagation. The former depends mainly on food, the latter upon sexual desire. More than two thousand years ago Kao Tzu, a contemporary of Mencius, said: "To enjoy food and delight in different sex is nature." In the history of civilization these two instincts have played the main role not only in moulding human life but in affecting the vicissitudes of the whole world. Love and bread, however distinct from one another, form the center of life. But love, unlike bread, is entirely free from what Marx called the mode or relation of production. While the family system had undergone considerable change after the Industrial Revolution, sexual love in the 19th century was the same as in Plato's age, though the mode of flirtation may have been different somehow or other. The evil of prostitution has, for instance, long been a serious social problem which, though closely connected with economic life, still remains

unsolved despite the remarkable changes of the Industrial Revolution.

Indeed, the development of modern Capitalism is the outcome of the Industrial Revolution. Yet one justifiably raises the question: Was not the Industrial Revolution preceded by the invention of machinery? Furthermore, was not the epoch-making invention of machinery due to the discoveries and progress of science in the 17th and 18th centuries? Putting it in another way, does science not owe its progress and success to the emancipation of man's thought? Now that man's thought, being the parent of scientific and mechanical inventions, becomes the main current of civilization, we have to admit that what prompted the development of human society relies on man's wisdom or thought rather than on the blind forces of production, as advocated by Marx. Even in the Paleolithic Age, man knew how to make implements with stones, and how to adjust his life to the external environment. Moreover, the fact that human society has, from barbarism to the high level of civilization, undergone a long process of evolution, leads to the conclusion that history is obviously a record of human thought. The main cause of cultural progress also depends on thought rather than on economic factors. In short, from both theoretical and practical points of view, Marx's materialistic conception of history (or economic determinism), as based on his personal bias and assumption, does not deserve serious revaluation.

Bertrand Russell's criticism of Marx sounds impartial and justifiable. He states: "I think, however, that Marx is wrong in two respects. First, the social circumstances of which account must be taken are quite as political as economic; they have to do with power, of which wealth is only one form. Second, social causation largely ceases to apply as soon as a problem becomes detailed and technical."⁷ And he adds: "Considered purely as a philosopher, Marx has great shortcomings. He is too practical, too much wrapped up in the problem of his time. His purview is confined to this planet, and, within this planet, to man. Since Copernicus, it has been evident that man has not the cosmic importance which he formerly arrogated to himself. No man who has failed to assimilate this fact has a right to call his philosophy scientific."⁸

⁷B. Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, p. 813.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 816.

By the same token, I do not think any thinking man is in a position to deny that Marx's philosophy as derived from Hegel is not scientific. At the same time Marx's atheism can hardly enjoy the justification of a scientifically-minded critic, in the sense that he retained a cosmic optimism which, as Russell rightly remarks, only theism could justify. It is ridiculous that this unscientific philosophy was, and still is, blindly worshipped as the sacred creed of Socialism. That Marx did not originate the materialistic dialectic was confirmed by Engels, who, in *Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, says: "And this materialistic dialectic, which for years has been our best working tool as our sharpest weapon, was remarkably enough discovered not only by us but also, independently of us and even of Hegel, by a German worker, Joseph Dietzgen."⁹

(2) *Theory of Surplus Value*

In his *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Engels asserts that the materialistic conception of history and the theory of surplus value are two unprecedented discoveries of Marx. Although Engel's remarks savor of exaggeration, it is indisputable that Marx devoted a good deal of his time to the study of surplus value, which he felt was his life's greatest contribution to the economic world. Capitalism, according to Marx, ought to be brought to an end simply because the surplus value of the workers is thoroughly exploited by capitalists. Marx's theory of surplus value is derived from the theory of labor value set forth by Adam Smith and Ricardo. Particularly it is Ricardo who regards labor as the main source of value.

Marx, in *Das Kapital*, emphasizes time and again that the struggle for life binds the workers together and sets them in opposition to the propertied class, while the concentration of capital turns the capitalists, who are greatly benefited by the exploitation of surplus value, towards the anti-social practices of monopoly. Marx clearly brings forth the fact that the development of the capitalist system is founded on the existence of the working class. The workers, under the capitalist system, have no means to live except by selling their labor-power. Capitalists first exploit the peasants and the artisans, and then exploit the workers.

⁹Marx & Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. II, p. 386.

The possibility of exploitation relies upon the existence of a margin between total net output and the subsistence minimum of the workers.¹⁰ Thus, the level of real wages is determined by the bargaining power of capitalists as a class and workers as another class. So long as the workers are not united, they are helpless and have to take what is offered them. As a result, their wages tend to be depressed to the lower limit set by the subsistence level.¹¹

According to Marx, the exchange of commodities is made possible only because the commodities have a value of utility and exchange. The exchange value is the sole mode which expresses the value of commodities.¹² Only through the quantities and time of labor can the value of utility be brought forth, and it is the value of utility that determines the total amount of value.¹³ All exchange of commodities is made in accordance with the value of commodities, and all commodities which are exchangeable must have equal value. This is what Marx called "equivalent exchange with equivalent." All relations of exchange have to be subject to the above rule.

Obviously value, for Marx, is nothing but the product of labor, meaning social labor. Marx says: "We arrive, therefore, at the conclusion. A commodity has a value, because it is a crystallization of social labor. The greatness of its value, of its relative value, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labor necessary for its production."¹⁴ While admitting that value is in fact relevant to labor, it does not follow that value is entirely determined by labor alone. Meanwhile, the same amount of labor does not necessarily produce exactly the same amount of value among different workers. As this is the case, how can we maintain that value, as Marx thought, is the equivalent of labor time?

Bohm-Bawerk's criticism of Marx's theory of value is worthy of notice. He remarks: "That I have toiled over a thing is one fact, that the thing is worth the toil is another and a different fact,

and that the two facts do not always go hand in hand is far too firmly established by experience to admit any doubt. It is proved by all the labor which is daily wasted on useless results, owing either to want of technical skill, or to bad speculation, or to simple misfortune; and not less by each of the numerous cases in which a very little toil has a result of very great value."¹⁵

That the value of a commodity does not depend mainly upon the time of labor is quite clear. What the mason who works for an hour needs cannot be compared with an hour's working time of a painter, because the value of an hour's working time of a painter is totally different from that of a mason. Evidently the value of commodities can by no means be determined by labor alone. I concur with Thomas Kirkup, who declares that the Ricardian and Marxian principle that labor is the source of wealth falls to the ground, because of these facets of modern industry: worldwide market; complex techniques; severe competition; and the importance of inventiveness, sagacity, courage, decision, initiative, and skill in management. Therefore, no such exclusive place as has been claimed can be assigned to labor.¹⁶

In order to have a thorough understanding of what Marx really meant by surplus value, we cannot do better than note his own words. In his address, delivered on June 20 and 27, 1865 at the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, Marx stated: "Take the example of our spinner. We have seen that, to daily produce his laboring power, he must daily produce a value of three shillings, which he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly value of the spinner's laboring power, the capitalist has acquired the right of using that laboring power during the whole day or week. He will, therefore, make him work say, daily, twelve hours. Over and above the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his laboring power, he will, therefore, have to work six other hours, which I shall call hours of surplus labor, which surplus labor will realize itself in a surplus value and a surplus produce."¹⁷

¹⁰K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 171, & vol. III, p. 912.

¹¹*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 149-152.

¹²*Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 13.

¹³*Ibid.*, vol. I, pp. 141-150.

¹⁴K. Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit, Selected Works*, vol. I, p. 418.

¹⁵Bohm-Bawerk, *Geschichte und der Kapitalzinstheorien*, pp. 429 seq., Eng. Tran., p. 377.

¹⁶T. Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*, p. 156.

¹⁷K. Marx, *Wages, Price, and Profit, Selected Works*, vol. I, pp. 427-428.

The laborer's working day may, for Marx, be divided into two parts. The first part is the "necessary working time" by which the worker produces the means necessary for his own support. For this part of his labor, he receives an equivalent in wages. The second part may be termed, in Marx's own words, the "surplus working time" in which he works for the capitalist's benefit. That is, he produces surplus value without receiving any equivalent for it.¹⁸ In other words, "All surplus value is in substance the embodiment of unpaid working time."¹⁹ As a result, Marx thought his vituperation vented on the capitalists was logically tenable in the sense that their profit was procured from the exploitation of surplus value at the expense of the workers' welfare.

Undoubtedly Marx failed to realize that in a business where the employers are the workers themselves, it is unlikely that their profits will be deprived from unpaid labor. Because Marx was a socialist first and an economist afterwards, he took advantage of his one-sided economics to justify his Socialism. There is much truth in Prof. Sombart's apology. He maintains that the idea that value is labor may have been to Marx "a fact not of experience but of thought." Marx may have been describing not what is, but what, in his opinion, ought to be. All value ought to be labor, and when capital is in the proper hands, it will be so. This anticipation is, of course, very dubious, indeed.²⁰

In one place Marx himself declares that "commodities are combinations of two elements, natural material and labor." Yet in another place he inconsistently asserts: "If the use value of commodities be disregarded there remains in them only one other property, that of being products of labor." It seems, so far as the reasoning of the third volume of *Capital* is concerned, that Marx is conscious of the fact that the prices of commodities are not in proportion to the amount of incorporated labor, but to the total cost of production. Apparently Marx is not free from self-contradiction.

Moreover, Marx's inconsistency is further illustrated by the fact that he admits that, even when wages are at rock-bottom, the capitalists still endeavor to squeeze as much profit as possible

¹⁸K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 205.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 554.

²⁰E. V. Bohm-Bawerk, *Karl Marx and the Close of His System*, p. 16.

out of the workers by lengthening the working day, increasing the intensity of the work, and drawing women and children into industry.²¹ On the other hand, he points out clearly that the process of extravagant exploitation on the part of capitalists leads to reaction. The health of the workers is undermined, and the supply of labor from future generations threatened. Enlightened self-interest then compels the capitalists to submit, though reluctantly, to labor legislation, which curbs their own excessive greed. Factory Acts limit the working day and improve conditions of labor, and wages are prevented from falling below the subsistence level.²²

It is, however, undeniable that in the beginning of the 19th century the workers' living was, on the whole, considerably miserable. With long working hours and low wages, the workers were, in fact, exploited to a large extent. For lack of both labor legislation and government intervention, the working hours in some countries amounted to fifteen hours a day. In 1833, England issued the Factory Act, which stipulated that the working hours of youths of ages 13 to 18 should not exceed 12 hours per day, and made the 12-hour day the standard working time. It was not until May 1st, 1848 that a 10-hour day was unanimously adopted in England. Later it was reduced to 8 hours—an idealistic working time called for hitherto by the socialists of various schools. In America today many a laborer does not work more than 40 hours per week, that is, his working time per day does not exceed 7 hours.

As to the living standard of workers in the free nations, to say nothing of the workers in the United States, it is no exaggeration to say that the welfare enjoyed by the workers of the Western countries was never dreamed of by Marx. An ordinary laborer in the United States earns as much as any white-collar worker's income. From 1929 to 1956, for instance, the total income of the United States increased 39%, while the workers' income increased 110%. In 1945, 90 per cent of the cost of production was wages, whereas what may be called the profit of the capitalists was estimated at not more than 6 per cent. Evidently, in the past 20 years the increased proportion of the total income of the United States has all gone into the pockets of the workers at large.

²¹K. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, p. 215, p. 407 and p. 392.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 251.

No doubt, what Marx writes in his *Das Kapital* (that "Even when wages are at rock bottom the capitalists still endeavor to squeeze more profit out of the workers, by lengthening the working day") is plainly in opposition to the real conditions of today. Moreover, what he points out in the first volume of *Das Kapital* (p. 251) with regard to labor legislation is actually anything but truth. As I have mentioned previously, the workers in the United States, for instance, are not only not living on a wage below the subsistence level, but are also in a position to enjoy such recreations and social activities as are enjoyed by any wealthy man.

The workers behind the Iron Curtain are living a life unbearably miserable. With the wages of one month, the Polish worker can purchase only a pair of shoes. The workers in Communist China have been underpaid all along. Li Fu-chun, chairman of the National Committee of Planning of the Peiping regime, reported to the People's Assembly in 1956 that in the first years of the Five Year Plan the increased production bore no relation to the increase in wages. While production increased 41.8 per cent, the workers' wages increased only 14.7 per cent, and the real wages increased only 6.9 per cent. All such urgent problems as the lodgings of the workers' dependents and their safety and health are completely overlooked. The daily necessities of the workers are far from being adequately supplied.²³ This suffices to bear witness to the fact that nowadays the surplus value of the workers is exploited by the ruling class of the communist countries rather than by the so-called capitalists of Britain and the United States. The *Ta Kung Pao* of Tientsin disclosed on August 6, 1956 that the cooperative society in Sinsiang, Honan, has hitherto disregarded the workers' welfare to such an extent that the workers toiled more than 18 hours a day. As a result, many formerly vivid and enthusiastic young workers have now, on account of ill treatment, become downhearted and spiritless. Worst of all, most of them are victims of disease. Consequently, the efficiency of work is greatly affected day by day. The paper revealed also that the fields of forestry and mining have undergone joint investigation by both the Commercial Bureau and the Provincial Workers' Association of Kiling province. The common defects, so far as

²³*Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. XX, No. 26.

the report is concerned, are as follows: The workers are so poorly fed that they are on the brink of semi-starvation. They have no chance to get fresh vegetables, to say nothing of fish and pork. From the Chinese New Year to the first of May, the forestry workers in Kiling area ate only about seven ounces of pork. These reports, published by the Communist paper, cannot be regarded as rumors. A good many similar reports appearing in the Communist daily also brought forth sad stories concerning the workers living on the mainland of China. And their livelihood went from bad to worse in the period of 1958 and 1960 as the result of the introduction of the commune system together with the campaign of the Great Leap Forward.

As late as 1970 the average factory worker who toils long hours earns \$16 to \$20 a month, just barely enough to support a family of two or three. Managers get around \$40 a month; while peasant families have an annual income of around \$100 a year, and even specialists such as nuclear scientists are estimated to earn only \$120 a month.²⁴

Does such a terrible tragedy as is staged time and again in Communist China ever occur in the Western democratic countries? What would Marx say were he living today and saw with his own eyes these melancholy events happening behind the Iron Curtain? In short, Marx's theory of surplus value is evidently not based on facts that have changed so drastically that he could hardly have anticipated them at his time. Sixty years ago Bohm-Bawerk had some fair remarks in relation to Marx's viewpoint: "Herein lies, I believe, the Alpha and Omega of all that is fallacious, contradictory, and vague in the treatment of his subject by Marx. His system is not in close touch with facts. Marx did not deduce from facts the fundamental principles of his system, either by means of a sound empiricism or a solid economic-psychological analysis; but he founded it on no firmer ground than a formal dialectic."²⁵ Werner Sombart in his article, "*Zur Kritik des Oekonomischen Systems von Karl Marx*," voices an opinion more or less akin to Bohm-Bawerk's. He says: "If we want to sum up the characteristics of Marx's value, we should say his value is a fact not of experience, but of thought." Being free from subjective

²⁴Cf. Tillman Durdin's Report of June 6, 1970, *The New York Times*.

²⁵E. V. Bohm-Bawerk, *K. Marx and the Close of His System*, p. 190.

dogmatism and sentimentalism, I concur with Bohm-Bawerk, who declares that Marx's system has a past but no abiding future, and that as there was Socialism before Marx, there will be after him. I should, however, modify his remarks in this way: that theism after Marx is Co-wealthism instead of Socialism.

(3) *Class War*

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, both Marx and Engels strongly stress that the history of all previous societies is the history of struggle. They state: "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending class.²⁶ Modern society under Capitalism is, for Marx, divided into two hostile classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat. However, Marx admits that these two antagonistic classes are, from the point of view of historical development, merely passing phases which will unquestionably be brought to an end as soon as Capitalism is ruined. As a result, genuine history starts to enter a new epoch in which the proletariat attains the climax of real emancipation.

While realizing the inevitable distinction between classes, we deny Marx's view that the whole of society is more and more splitting up into two hostile camps. Besides, delineation of classes is by no mean so simple as Marx thought. The distinction of classes in the West, as a matter of fact, differs greatly from that of the East; nor is the new continent similar to the old continent. In India, for instance, the caste system results from religious tradition and conventional social custom, rather than from economic factors. Such is also true with the Chinese community, hitherto divided into four classes: namely Ssu (scholars), Lung (farmers), Kung (workers) and Shang (merchants). Strictly speaking, these four groups of people are conventionally named in accordance with their profession or estate, rather than their "class" as meant by Marx. Perhaps it is closer to the real fact, so far as the Chinese

social structure is concerned, if we use the word "field" to designate the four groups of people instead of adopting the word "class," which is not only misleading but also meaningless.

The reason why the word "class" cannot be applied to the Chinese society is simply this: The term class, when interpreted in terms of Marxism, savors of the nature of struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. In China, however, whose feudal system disintegrated two thousand years ago, the distinction between the rich and poor, especially after the unification of Chin Shi-hwang (221 B.C.), has long been evident. The economic gap was so wide that the rich were sometimes in possession of a thousand acres of land, whereas the poor owned nothing. This appalling situation was not only characteristic of the Former Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 25), but has been carried on in later generations as well. In view of the fact that the land in China, although it was privately owned after the Chin dynasty, is constantly in the process of transaction and transference, ownership changes swiftly. Therefore, the landlord of today is readily turned into the tenant of tomorrow, and vice versa. Accordingly, it is very hard, because of the frequent change of land ownership, to draw a clear-cut demarcation between the have and have-not classes. At the same time, there is a huge middle class between the two.

The class distinction in China is not by any means conspicuous on account of the fact that the four groups of people merely account for the difference of social standing and occupation rather than being distinguished by property. It has long been an indisputable fact that in China, hitherto-respected scholars are not necessarily more wealthy than the farmers or workers; nor can the former oppress the latter. In like manner, not all the merchants are much richer than the workers, nor are the latter at the mercy of the former. I have time and again made it quite clear in my writings that the Chinese economic thought and system during the past four thousand years have been characterized by the idea of co-wealth, and have aimed at removing economic inequality with a view to abolishing class antagonism by peaceful means.

Occasionally we hear some misleading criticism that the Chinese scholars, as a privileged class, always enjoy the prerogative of putting themselves into a status of domination; that thereby they are, as it were, superior to ordinary men in every

²⁶Marx & Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p. 46.

walk of life. Nevertheless, this remark is based on superficial observation that has failed to realize the essential feature of Chinese history. Traditionally it is true that Chinese scholars, being held in great esteem by all sorts of people, possess a higher social standing. Chinese scholars, regardless of their birth or property, are entitled to participation in government. Any commoner, so long as he is well-educated and passes the state examination, has an opportunity to climb to such a high position as that of Prime Minister.

In fact, the farmers, the workers and the merchants, unlike the scholars, are unable to play an important role in politics for lack of high education. But their children, given adequate education, are in a position to attain the standing of scholars and become, if they wish, administrators at various levels. It is, therefore, not uncommon at all that a good many children of the workers or farmers hold significant positions in the government. In a country like China, featured by its traditional democracy and philosophy of love, it is futile and even nonsense to preach the doctrine of Marxian class war, which is entirely based on hatred, and which is hostile to the very spirit of Chinese civilization.

To make the poor rich and to set free the oppressed is not only the clamor of socialists, but the common goal of the philosophers, religious leaders and statesmen who are devoted to the furtherance of cultural progress. But an ideal is one thing; the way of working it out is another thing. It is the question of means that deserves our serious consideration. If one, with a view to realizing his ideal, starts from hatred and appeals to relentless struggle or dictatorship so as to bring about a bloody revolution, together with unprecedented social upheaval and terror, it is inhuman tyranny in every respect. On the contrary, it would be most desirable were the implementation of one's ideal made by means of love and peaceful measures in order that the interests of various classes, due to the practice of Co-wealthism, were so adjusted and harmonized that the abundant life, material as well as spiritual, would be equally enjoyed by the people at large. By various applications of measures both the form of government and the vicissitudes of a nation are determined.

Instead of appealing to peaceful means, Marx resorted to ruthless class struggle. He even went so far as to brand all democratic reformatory measures ridiculously as utopian Socialism

or petit bourgeois Socialism; whereas he extolled his bloody, dreadful and tyrannical Communism to the skies. He felt that only his own Socialism merited the name "scientific"; all other Socialisms, whatever their contents, were considered counter-revolutionary, feudal, petit bourgeois-like. Marx took it for granted that the main cause of the proletariat's suffering was the simple fact that the means of production were owned by the capitalists, to whom the proletariat was enslaved. In order to bring about a classless society and to let the state wither away, it was imperative to turn the private ownership of the means of production into public ownership by virtue of class war and violent revolution, on whose success depends the emancipation of the working class.

The social stratum, which is very complicated, can never be simply classified, as Marx did, into two antagonistic camps: bourgeoisie and proletariat. Take, for instance, the social stratum of Great Britain. According to the statistics of 1921, the constituents of the British community may be classified into five classes: (1) the middle and upper class; (2) the middle class; (3) the skillful workers; (4) the intermediate class between the skillful and unskilled workers; (5) the unskillful workers.²⁷

Class	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Percentage	2.93	20.35	43.47	20.45	13.40

In the United States there are 10,000,000 factory or production workers—less than 10% of the whole population. Apparently they are the minority in the strict sense of the word. The working class, according to Marx, represents the proletariat, all the rest outside the working class belong to the bourgeoisie. If the class war were carried out in the United States, it would be a war between a 10% minority and a 90% majority. Is it justifiable to assert that the 90% are exploiters and oppressors; that the 10% are the exploited and oppressed? If the 10%, having brought a revolution through class war, become rulers of America, then the other 90%, who were non-workers, would have to live at the mercy of the 10%. What a horrible tyranny! The statistics of 1968 show that in the United States of 50,510,000 families, 1.8% had an annual income below \$1,000; 6.0% had an annual income

²⁷Morris Ginsberg, *Sociology*, p. 172.

between \$4,000 and \$4,999; 25% had an annual income between 10,000 and 14,999; and 2.6% had an annual income of 25,000 and over. The above figures suffice to prove that the greatest number of American people belong to the middle class, and that the percentages being poverty-stricken and millionaires are very small. Suppose the class war takes place in the United States—it would certainly be a war between an extreme minority and an extreme majority. If the class war is, as Marx believed, really motivated in the interest of the proletariat, it is apparently for the happiness of the smallest number of people at the expense of the welfare of the greatest number of people. This is the greatest contradiction in Marx's theory of class war, indeed.

The average United States factory worker is able to pay a month's rent for a dwelling unit of average cost by means of 3 days' work. He works only 5 hours for a pair of shoes, whereas a worker behind the Iron Curtain has to work one month for them. The Polish worker's remuneration is a case in point. It is, of course, no small irony of the Communism of Karl Marx, who has been considered an advocate of the workers' emancipation.

Viewing the existing economic order of both Great Britain and the United States in a new light, the so-called Capitalism berated by Marx and his followers is no longer in existence. Working hours, as a result of labor legislation, have been greatly shortened; wages have been increased immensely; unemployment insurance and regulations insuring against the risks of old age, disability, illness, injuries and death have been put into effect; such drastic reforms as the enforcement of the progressive income tax and inheritance tax have been accomplished; the cooperative system has been expanded; monopolies and trusts have been prohibited. Economically, the interest of various classes, due to the gradual socialization of wealth, is being harmonized step by step to such an extent that the class distinction is withering away. Social unrest in America results from racial tension rather than class antagonism.

Struggle based on hatred is anti-social, anti-cultural and against human nature. After the publication of Darwin's writings, such as *The Origin of Species*, *The Descent of Man*, and *Emotion in Man and in Animals*, many a scholar holds that the struggle for existence is a sort of natural law. The notion of struggle among fellow human beings has been immensely strengthened since Huxley

(1825-1895) issued his *The Struggle for Existence and Its Bearing upon Man*. Several works whose essential advocate is in diametrical opposition to Huxley's deserve our notice. Espinas' *Les Societies Animales* (1877), J. L. Laneessan's *La Lutte pour L'Existence et L'Association pour La Lutte* (1881) and Buchner's *Liebe und Liebesleben in der Tierwelt* (1883) have voiced the same opinion that animal life, due to its intricacy, can hardly be explained completely in terms of struggle for existence. Espinas in his writing proves that the spirit of cooperation and division of labor are quite obviously displayed in the society of ants and bees. Both Laneessan and Buchner also point out clearly that mutual aid, love, sympathy, sociability, etc., are instinctively shared in common by animals.

Prof. Kessler, one-time President of St. Peter's University, in his lecture delivered at the Russian Congress of Naturalists, declared that, apart from the law of mutual struggle, the law of mutual aid is also unanimously manifested in the phenomena of nature. Mutual aid, for him, is beyond doubt more important than mutual struggle from the standpoint of biological evolution. In fact, Darwin himself admits that mutual struggle is by no means the only law of the animal kingdom. In *The Descent of Man*, Darwin lays considerable stress on the fact that a good number of animals disappeared merely because of their struggle for individual existence; and that if struggle is replaced by cooperation they will be benefited in the development of intellect and virtue. Again, he bears witness to the more significant fact that those animals which have best adapted to the condition of existence are not by any means the physically strongest or temperamentally shrewdest; on the contrary, they are conscious of how to unite themselves for the sake of group welfare, by means of collaboration. He asserts that the community that is not devoid of sympathy enjoys greater prosperity and more offspring.²⁸

Prof. Kessler, in his lecture "On the Law of Mutual Aid," says that the struggle for existence is of course an undeniable fact, but he emphasizes that mutual aid is more conducive to the development of the animal kingdom and the progress of mankind than mutual struggle. By the same token, he realizes that there

²⁸C. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, p. 163.

are two basic desires or instincts shared in common by all creatures: one is the instinct of self-preservation; the other is that of propagation. The former leads them to struggle and eventually ends in destruction; the latter induces them to aid mutually, thereby benefiting them one way or another. In brief, he believes that mutual aid in biological evolution must be regarded as far more significant than mutual struggle.

Prof. Kessler's doctrine influenced P. Kropotkin (1842-1921) in no small degree. In order to prove that mutual aid is a factor of progress and natural law, Kropotkin made a comprehensive survey as well as a wide investigation of natural and social phenomena. As a result, he is convinced that mutual aid, as an essential requirement for co-existence in the animal kingdom and human society, has long been practiced, though in various degree, from the ancient tribes down to modern highly civilized communities. It is not only true among the barbarous people or semi-civilized nations, but also true among the animals. This theory, along with that of Prof. Kessler, cannot be said to have no repercussion on Marx's theory of class war, and this may be a fatal blow to the Marxian philosophy of class struggle.

In short, class war, being an abnormal symptom in the process of social evolution, is in fact the manifestation of a lower form of struggle for existence which originated from animal instinct and which, in a highly civilized human society, should no longer be developed. The more advanced the civilization, the greater its sympathy in human relations. A human society which enjoys an advanced culture must and should be a community of mutual love and mutual aid. Meanwhile, the possessive impulse should be substituted by the creative impulse, and extreme egoism should be replaced by altruism; otherwise human society, East and West, can by no means be called civilized whatsoever.

Living in the Space Age, the struggle between fellow human beings should be put to an end in order to live together peacefully. Hereafter, the only justifiable struggle in human society is certainly the struggle between man and nature; and the latter, for the sake of human survival, should be fully controlled and conquered whenever possible by the former.

(4) *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*

The reason why Marx deems it right to term all Socialisms

other than his own utopian and unscientific is that his Socialism alone is worthy the name "scientific," since it possesses, for him, such feasible measures at its disposal as economic determinism (viz. the materialistic conception of history), class war, and, most important of all, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Party has as its most effective weapons two trump cards: first, it resorts to violent revolution with a view to overthrowing the existing regime, whatever it may be; secondly, it maintains and strengthens its revolutionary rule by virtue of dictatorship.

Marx writes: "In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things." Again, he says: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."²⁹ Both Marx and Engels have made it clear in their "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League" that it is their interest and their task to make the revolution permanent, until the more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, the proletariat has conquered the state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat.³⁰ Marx, in his letter addressed to J. Weydmeyer dated March 5th, 1852, said: "What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular historical phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. . . ."³¹

What is the proletariat? Can the proletariat represent the whole body of the society? Can or should the proletariat usurp the name of democracy? Is it possible to abolish all classes and the state through the medium of the dictatorship of the proletariat? All of these important questions are closely related to

²⁹*Manifesto of the Communist Party*, pp. 103-104.

³⁰Marx & Engels, *Selected Works*, p. 110.

³¹*Ibid.* p. 452.

the doctrine of Marx. Whether or not Marxism possesses intrinsic value may be clearly discerned from the answers to the above questions. Let us analyze them one by one in accordance with objective facts.

(1) What is the proletariat? Engels in his note to his English edition in 1888 of the *Manifesto* writes: "By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of production and employers of wage-labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live."

(2) Can the proletariat represent the majority of society? Since the proletariat is the class of wage-laborers, it is in effect the minority compared with the national population. It is true in every country. Industrially, the United States is the most highly developed country all the world over; yet the percentage of the wage-laborers in the whole population of this country is still a minority. If the dictatorship of the proletariat were one day unfortunately carried out in the United States, it would mean that 90% of the Americans had to be subject to the tyranny of the 10% of workers. That the workers of the Communist countries are entirely under the manipulation of the party is a fact known to all. The Soviet Communist membership in the party is about 12.7 million, only 8 per cent of the whole adult population. The really powerful rulers are, however, not 12.7 million party members at all but the secretary and a handful of the top level of the party, who constitute the core of the ruling class, and are the actual governors of 241,000,000 Russians. As a result, we may fairly say that what Marx called the dictatorship of the proletariat is not by any means a dictatorship of one party, let alone the workers. It is a sort of oligarchy, a rule of one tyrant such as Stalin and his successors.

(3) Can or should the proletariat usurp the name of democracy? Nothing can be more ridiculous and illogical than the assertion of the Communists who, after the fashion of the West, call themselves advocates of democracy. Mao Tse-tung's "People's Democratic Dictatorship" is the case in point. Mao, as a layman in logic, failed to realize that both democracy and dictatorship are so self-contradictory that their co-existence is inconceivable. Under the rule of dictatorship, all freedom such as those of speech, faith, press, organization, etc., are denied altogether. On the con-

trary, all such basic freedoms are safeguarded by law under the rule of democracy, which is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. The Declaration of Independence of the United States, issued on May 4th, 1776, states:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The spirit of modern democracy is evidently manifested in the American Declaration of Independence. Is there any idea embodied in the dictatorship of the proletariat correspondent to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence? Can the people behind the Iron Curtain enjoy individual liberty whatsoever? Are their lives and happiness, if any, well protected by the government? Is the government of a Communist country instituted from the consent of the governed? In East Germany and Poland the right to strike, which Marx deemed justifiable to enable the workers to safeguard their basic liberty and happiness, has been so illegally deprived that workers have been arrested, tortured, and executed. Now that their right to strike is totally denied, how could the workers be expected to enjoy the right of altering or abolishing the government to which they belong? In the light of these obvious facts, we are led to the conclusion that Marxism is not only not the wave of the future, but has already been declared bankrupt.

All despotism, no matter whether it be monarchical tyranny or the dictatorship of the proletariat, should be likened to the fossil, which should be preserved in the museum for the study of the archaeologists. Being opposed to the principle of human progress, dictatorship is in effect nothing but a relic of a barbarous community, and it would, if it were adopted, lead mankind to return to the barbarism of primitive society.

(4) Is it possible to abolish all classes and states by means of

the dictatorship of the proletariat? Marx indulges himself in such whimsical speculation as that in the long run only through the inevitable process of the dictatorship of the proletariat can a classless as well as a stateless society be brought about. Unfortunately, he fails to see that it is anything but feasible. Since the revolution of 1917, the Soviet Union has undergone 56 years of dictatorship of the proletariat, which has created a new class whose constituents are the technicians, entrepreneurs, high-ranking officials and party cadres, together with the handful of artists and writers, instead of abolishing classes.

The newly created class took advantage of the slogan of the revolution of the proletariat and usurped the highest social status, and have been living a life which is the most luxurious throughout the whole country. Above all, their extravagant life is no doubt in excess of that of the capitalists at the time of Marx. This new aristocracy in the Communist bloc owes its prosperity to the revolution of the proletariat; and upon its power depends the destiny of the proletariat, who, under the high-handed oppression of this new aristocracy, has no other alternative than to suffer and starve. Even a little expression of dissatisfaction, let alone resentment, on the part of the workers and peasants, would immediately be branded as counter-revolutionary and punishable by imprisonment or death. Today it is well known that the workers and peasants beyond the Iron Curtain all become slaves and serfs of the Communist rule. Working more than 12 hours a day, they are still unable to maintain a decent living for their families. Probably, even at Marx's time the workers' life in the then-capitalistic society was a little better than the workers' livelihood in the Communist countries.

In America today an average factory worker, who enjoys nearly all the modern domestic equipment at his home, is able to buy a suit of new clothes by means of 24 hours' work; a first-rate radio set by 2 days' work; and 3 days' work suffices to pay a month's rent. Now the workers' living condition in the totalitarian states is, nevertheless, far better than that of the peasants. As early as a decade ago, four out of five families in America had an average of \$6,000 life insurance. About 78,000,000 persons, more than half the population, held life insurance policies with a total value of \$201,000,000,000. Of all American city families ten years ago, 67 per cent had mechanical refrigerators, 84 per cent had

gas or electric kitchen stoves, 65 per cent had electric toasters, 58 per cent had vacuum cleaners, 52 per cent had electric washing machines, and 91 per cent had radios or radio-phonograph combinations. By the same token, a decade ago the American farmers in the rural community also lived a life undreamed of by the farmers in the Communist countries today. More than three-quarters of the United States' 6,000,000 farms had electricity, and more than one-half had telephones. The number of farm homes reporting running water was about 150,000 a year, and the number reporting bathrooms and flush toilets about 100,000 a year. Of late the modernization of the rural community has been more rapid than ever before. Why could not the Communist regimes, especially the Peking regime, raise the people's living standard as high as in the United States? It is imperative for the Communists to take this issue into serious consideration.

In Communist China, as a result of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class of "have" is turned into the class of "have-not," and the original class of "have-not" is reduced to a class of semi-starving paupers and slaves. The new privileged class, a new aristocracy, rides on the back of the proletariat and shouts such slogans as "emancipation," "liberty," "equality," "abolition of classes," and so on. In fact, what they have been doing is exactly in opposition to what they have preached with regard to the improvement of people's welfare.

(5) Does the dictatorship of the proletariat aim at the abolition of the state? The Soviet Union, as I pointed out previously, has undergone 56 years of dictatorship, which, instead of letting the state wither away, has from time to time extended its influence to a far-reaching area covering the whole of Eastern Europe, together with Mongolia, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. Has any country other than the Soviet Union, since World War II, achieved its expansion so swiftly and so widely?

The ideal society dreamed of by Marx is one in which there are no classes and in which even the state itself will gradually wither away. It is, however, entirely out of his expectation that today not only his sweet dream of a classless and stateless society had ended in smoke, but that a technocratic class together with an expanded totalitarian state has been brought into being. If Marx, living today, could see with his own eyes that his adherents in the Kremlin and Peking have been marching on the road of

imperialism, he would certainly be at a loss as to whether he should lament or laugh. From the beginning of the 18th century down to the end of the 19th century, nationalism has flourished in different ways and given us many heroic stories, as well as numerous inhuman crimes. Such ultra-nationalism as the Japanese militarism, pan-Germanism and fascism that prevailed prior to World War II, and the Communist imperialism, are merely the outcome of the wrong conception that "right or wrong, my country"; and that "*Deutschland, Deutschland uber alles, uber alles in der Welt.*"

During the past hundred years many European thinkers who did not fail to realize that ultra-nationalism and imperialism were horrible threats to world peace and democracy clamored in fury against them. G. Mazzini published his "Pact of Fraternity of Young Europe" in 1839; J. A. Hobson issued "Imperialism" in 1902; Bertrand and Dora Russell brought out their "Prospects of Industrial Civilization" in 1923; and Norman Angell brought to light his "The Unseen Assassins" in 1932. All these thinkers, among others, were strongly opposed to ultra-nationalism and imperialism from the standpoint of justice, humanitarianism and world peace. Meanwhile, they, unlike Hegel, denied the absolute sovereignty of the state; and all cherished the idea that the state should be regarded as a unit of the world federation or world government. In other words, they did not believe that the state will, as Marx held, wither away. On the contrary, they were firmly convinced that, as the family is a unity of society, so is the state a unity of the world. If the existence of a family is not in conflict with the existence of society, how can we fairly maintain that the independence of a state is not in harmony with the formation of a world government?

(6) The evil consequence of the dictatorship of the proletariat: After the revolution of 1917, Lenin, having realized the infeasibility of Military Communism, made up his mind to put into effect the New Economic Policy. In the wake of Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin, with overwhelming power concentrated in his hands, blindly carried out the system of collective farms and enforced the bloody struggle regardless of the people's suffering and opposition. Although 56 years have elapsed the agricultural problem remains unsolved today, production still lags behind, and the farmers' living standard is still low.

Up to now, the Soviet economy has been in trouble. According to the Soviet economic statistics released in December 1969, a serious slowdown of economic growth took place in 1969, an unprecedented retardation since Nikita Khrushchev's ouster in 1964. Leonid L. Brezhnev, Secretary General of Communist Party, disclosed the discouraging story to the Central Committee. After a month or so his bad news was revealed in the *Pravda* editorial which asserted: "There are major shortcomings in the sphere of capital construction. It happens that estimated allocations for projects are overdrawn."

Pravda said further: "It is necessary to improve decisively the organization and management of the national economy, striving for high organization, strict discipline and correct estimation of the labor of every worker and individual collectives, for combining the efforts of millions upon millions of working people into a single purposeful force. . . . The Party's Central Committee meeting pointed to such shortcomings as the loss of a feeling of responsibility by some functionaries and executives. The facts of careless work and violation of discipline were manifested first of all in the light-minded attitude to the fulfillment of the state plan. . . . An unwarranted reduction in the cattle and poultry stock and in the production of meat, milk and eggs was registered in a number of republics and regions."

More emphatically *Pravda* stated: "As a result, difficulties began to appear, especially in large industrial centers, in the supply of the population with livestock produce. It is necessary to put an end to thriftlessness, enhance discipline and responsibility at every level, energetically combat conservatism and bureaucracy and achieve the full use of production reserves in the economy. Special attention should be given to the strengthening of labor and production discipline." Once more *Pravda* stressed: "The struggle needs to be stepped up against such anti-social practices as the misappropriation of socialist property, loafing, and over-indulging in alcohol."

Since the establishment of the Peking regime on October 1st, 1949, more than 15 million innocent Chinese people have sacrificed their lives before the altar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Those who escaped the wholesale slaughter had physically to suffer enslavement and hunger, and spiritually to sustain all sorts of threats and oppression. Property was confiscated and freedom

lost. Worst of all, nobody dared to utter a syllable to protest even under such unbearably miserable circumstances. Ma Ying-chu, people's representative of the Communist regime, reported on June 21, 1956 to the Third People's Assembly in Peking: "After my inspection in Chekiang province for three times successively I am led to the conclusion that the farmers' life by and large is still distressful. Most of the rural villages remind me of nothing but bankruptcy. In the whole village of Pechuchen, in the district of Siaoshan, 23 out of 52 families lived in ruined houses and all the farmers are shabbily dressed." Economically the Peking regime further exploits the farmers in the name of collectivization and cooperative movement; as a result, production decreases, and the peasants' livelihood goes from bad to worse. Taking Kwantung province for example, 10,000 out of 50,000 cooperatives throughout the whole province have disintegrated altogether in consequence of withdrawal from the cooperatives of the peasants. Such discouraging stories are not lacking in other provinces of Communist China.³² As a matter of fact, the peasants have been reduced to extreme poverty since 1958 as a result of the practice of the commune.

Apart from being the victims of diseases, the people have been suffering terribly from the scarcity of foodstuffs, shortages of daily necessities and constant threats of unemployment. The city workers seem, as a whole, a little better off in comparison with the peasants, but the former still receive low wages and work long hours. The workers' life, although relatively a bit better than that of the farmers, is in no way above the level of bare subsistence. It goes without saying that the living standard of the workers in Communist China is considerably low compared with that of American workers. The *Youth of China*, a Communist paper, on June 7, 1956 frankly admitted that many workers of the Third Engineering Company in Sian fled, one after another, due to maltreatment.

It is disclosed in the Communist-owned paper that in some cities the working hours are as high as 18 hours a day; and that in the course of half a year, no worker can have more than 7 ounces of meat. Although the Peking regime has set up children's homes outwardly for the welfare of the workers, they accommodate only

the children of the high-ranking cadres instead of those of the workers. In the 8th issue of the *Woman's Monthly*, another Communist-owned journal, it is reported: "The Public Children's Home should at least serve the office workers. Unfortunately the Children's Home belonging to the Ministry of Post and Telegraph acts otherwise; in fact, it cares only for the children of those high-ranking officials, though it does not say so in its regulation. It is, therefore, called the 'Prince's Palace' on account of the fact that only those kids whose father or mother is the head of a department or bureau are admitted, while those of the workers are rejected."

As to the question of corruption under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a lot of evidences are worthy of notice. Some people take it for granted that the Communist officials, under the iron discipline, should be free from corruption, at any rate. As a matter of fact, the corrupted elements among the Communist officials are, beyond the expectation of the Communist-sympathizers, increasing day by day. Li Hsueh-sien, the head of the Controlling Bureau of Kwantung province, has reported in detail the serious situation of corruption to the Fourth People's Assembly of Kwantung. He states: "The district government of On-yuen, when searching for the farmers' surplus grain, illegally forced them to fingerprint and threatened them with various means. Furthermore, at the sixth village of Linsan the cadres have illegally confiscated the people's foodstuffs and in many places the ration provision has been so inadequate that people had to entertain their guests, when a wedding or funeral took place, with potatoes only. This deepened their resentments. Meanwhile, the air of bureaucracy prevailing among the cadres of the financial offices is also serious. The habits of extravagance and irresponsibility are more obvious than ever before. 40% of the current account are not in correspondence with the items of goods in the store of Shun-teh. With regard to the embezzlement in the stores of Swatow, Chankiang and Haikow, the facts are even more horrible. 80% of their accounts are cooked. According to the statistics of the Controlling Bureau of Hopu, 40% of the cooperative officers are charged with the embezzlement of public funds. 21 out of 32 cadres in the Swatow Union of Theatres are delinquents of corruption. Above all, moral degeneration among the cadres of various level is due mainly to luxury and dissipation, and the vici-

³²Tientsin Takung Pao; Peking People's Daily, June 27, 1956.

ous life between man and woman is particularly getting worse.”³³

Li Hsueh-Sien's report as pictured above suffices to prove that corruption and delinquency in the Chinese Communist administration can never be said to be so insignificant as ordinary outsiders imagine. Moreover, those who are in charge of industrial enterprise in Communist China take heed of means to increase production without paying attention at all to the safety of the workers. As a result of their carelessness, many workers have died of accidents. The *Kung-shang Fortnightly*, a Communist journal, published an article entitled “The Work of Safeguarding the Workers Must Be Done Carefully,” which says: “According to the statistics of the Municipal Office of Labor casualties in the first season of this year are 40% higher than that of the same time last year. So far as the professional maladies are not effectively prevented, woman workers are not well treated, and in consequence of constant increase of extra work the workers' health is greatly affected. The statistics of 19 factories indicates that from July 20 to 28, 1956, 30 workers fell down in a faint due to sunstroke. In many handicraft factories the temperature was as high as 130 degrees; the workers toiled 12 hours a day and were forced to work continuously despite their headaches and vomiting.”³⁴

The *Peking People's Daily*, in its editorial of July 12, 1956, said: “Judging from the incomplete statistics of the 18 provinces and 2 municipal governments, it reveals clearly that there are 15% of workers who are badly in need of houses. These workers for lack of shelter have to live in the military strongholds or mud caves, folks of several generations thronged in a single room; and husbands and wives have to be separated. Workers' marriages have to be indefinitely delayed from the shortage of apartments.” At the same time the problem of unemployment is extremely grave in urban as well as in rural communities. The workers whose living is relatively better than the peasants still have to put up with such maltreatment, let alone other people. All these miseries are the outcome of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

During the past 20 years the Peking regime should have succeeded in improving the people's living and the whole nation

³³Le Hsueh-sien's report was made in 1956, disclosed in the *South Daily*, Canton.

³⁴Cf. 14th issue of *Kuang-shang Fortnightly*, Shanghai, 1956.

should have been industrialized, had the Communist leaders not made such great mistakes as following blindly the outmoded Marxism-Leninism; as enforcing dogmatically the unworkable “Great Leap Forward” project; as practicing ruthlessly the wholesale slaughter of innocent people; and as utilizing the youths inhumanly to organize the Red Guards for personal power struggles in the name of “Cultural Revolution.”

In spite of the fact that Communist China has become a member of the world nuclear club and has also orbited a satellite on April 25, 1970, the Chinese people are hopelessly poor after more than two decades of misrule. For 8 out of 10 Chinese, the only way to get anywhere is on foot. Per capita income—somewhere between \$60 and \$100 a year—ranks with the world's lowest. 85 per cent of the Chinese still live on the land. The labor force employed in modern industry is less than 3 per cent. Steel production is approximately 12.5 million tons a year (more than 130 million tons a year in the U.S.). China will have a population of more than a billion after 30 years or so. Of course, the whole nation is subject to the constant threat of starvation were the misrule allowed to survive continuously.

Evidently the tragedy of China performed by Mao Tse-tung plunged the nation into unprecedented melancholy. Mao's blunder results from his ignorance of the Chinese traditional cultural heritage and Confucian political philosophy; otherwise he would not take Marxian Communism, which is antagonistic to the Chinese cultural heritage and philosophy, as the remedy for the rebuilding of China.

The thinking men of the world are aware that the economic, political and social institutions in modern countries, far from being complete and idealistic, are badly in need of renovation in every respect. The remedy we need today, however, lies not in what is offered by Marx, whose prescription has obviously been proved inefficacious. Undoubtedly the application of Marxian Communism would enhance, instead of cure, the present world evil. In other words, the enforcement of Marxism would result in disintegration of human society, along with the ruin of world civilization.

The intellectual youths today must realize that the outmoded Marxism is not only opposed to the law of social evolution but is based on dogmatism and phantasmal subjectivism. Never-

theless, Marx's twenty years of research in the British Museum deserves our admiration; and Engels, who gave material aid to his friend Marx at the expense of his own property, has set a good example to the world with his loyalty and integrity. Personally, I pay sincere homage to their devotion and public-spirited ideal, though I disagree with their philosophy.

By the same token, the intellectual youths today should by no means worship idols whatsoever. What we ought to stick to is truth, which is relative and subject to change in accordance with the variation of space and time. When space and time change, what we term truth cannot remain unaffected; some truths which transcend the limits of space and time, such as the fundamental principles of "love," "justice," "honesty," etc., or such mathematical propositions as that "two and two make four," may be universally as well as constantly applied at any space and time. Apart from these basic principles in ethics, together with all unanimously-confirmed scientific laws transcending the bounds of space and time, all other ideologies or isms as illustrated in philosophy, economics, education, sociology, ethics, etc., are always in the process of modification according to the tempero-spatial changes.

It is not uncommon that what was held as truth then and there may be considered falsehood here and now. It is, therefore, out of place to follow the conventional ideas and practices which are no longer valid. In order to cope with the changing situation, we have to do what is suitable to the occasion and be guided by circumstances. In other words, all the outmoded doctrine, however popular it may be, should be discarded by any means.

The right attitude for facing new problems is to take them into serious consideration by means of objective analysis and scientific process, in order that they are able to stand severe tests; otherwise, we shall lag behind the time and not be in a position to accomplish anything in the interest of mankind. Meanwhile, we, as thinking men, should realize that even the Communists themselves have been rebelling against the orthodox Marxism. Lenin, for instance, was criticized by Plekhanov, who declared: "He (Lenin) evidently confused the dictatorship of the proletariat with a dictatorship over the proletariat."

There are many dissidents in the Soviet Union today who have not only voiced their disillusionment but their longing for

the day when the Communist dictatorship will be put to an end. Andrei Amalrik in his article, "Will the U.S.S.R. Survive Until 1984?", published in *Survey: A Journal of Soviet and East European Studies*, admitted: "The degree of freedom we enjoy is still minimal as compared with that needed for a developed society." Moreover, he predicted: "The country will begin to disintegrate in an atmosphere of anarchy, violence and intense national hatred."

The Soviet Union, the first country practicing Marxian Communism, is no longer the monolithic Communist power. The world Communist bloc has long been disintegrating. Yugoslavia, Albania, Red China, Rumania, etc are either alienated from or hostile to Moscow. Josip Broz Tito said: "The Yugoslavia brand of Communism has its origins in the hills and forests and was not imported ready-made from Moscow." Mao Tse-tung regards the Soviet leaders as "the renegades of Marxism." Nicolae Ceausescu, the Rumanian Communist leader, has long refused to dance to Moscow's music. At the same time, he calls for a worldwide debate among Communists to modernize their Marxist ideology and bring it into accord with current realities. Apparently Marxism is on the wane.

Chapter III

CRITIQUE OF LENINISM

V. I. Lenin (1870-1924), the leader of the Soviet revolution in 1917, was a faithful adherent of Karl Marx. In view of the fact that his thought and speeches have become a sort of creed among the Communists, Leninism has hitherto been put on equal footing with Marxism. Both were, and are, enshrined in the Communist Empire. As Marxism has been forsaken by the new age, so is Leninism, which is just as opposed to the *zeitgeist* as is Marxism. In fact, the so-called Leninism is merely the unnatural combination of Marxism with the Russian ideology of Communist revolution. According to Marx, only in the highly-developed capitalistic states lies the possibility of practicing Communism—which, in other words, can be worked out only in those countries whose industry is highly mechanized. Russia, in the eyes of Marx, could never be expected to bring about a successful revolution of the proletariat at any rate. Lenin constrainedly applied Marxism to an industrially-backward Russia; and he succeeded in overthrowing the Tsarist regime, together with the Kerensky administration, by taking advantage of contemporary economic and political defects. The Russian peasants' resenting the oppression of the relentless landlords and the government played an important role in the revolution of 1917, which was led by Lenin. Since 1917, Leninism, like Marxism, has been esteemed as orthodox dogma of the Communists and simultaneously become the required subject for all the party members to study.

What is Leninism? Stalin's definition is: "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletariat revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the pro-

letariat revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular."¹

(1) *The Fallacy of World Revolution*

Lenin had previously stressed the necessity and significance of the world revolution. As early as 1902, when the Russian Revolution was in the embryo stage, Lenin, in his article "What Is To Be Done?", wrote: "History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country . . . the fulfillment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European, but also of Asiatic, reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international proletariat."² The success of the October Revolution in 1917, according to the observation of Lenin, would suffice to prove that the Russian proletariat is actually the pioneer and model of the proletarian revolution of the whole world. The proletariat of all other states should by any means light the fire of revolution after the manner of the Russian proletariat.

In the wake of revolution, Russia, under the encirclement and blockade of all the anti-Communist countries, was confronted with an unprecedented crisis. In order to safeguard Soviet Russia as well as strengthen the power of the new regime, Lenin was convinced that Socialism could not be brought about in a single country like Soviet Russia, but that all other countries had to bring the bourgeois governments to an end by means of revolution. Lenin said: "The task of the victorious revolution is to do the utmost possible in one country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries."³

Having analyzed the current international situation, Lenin took it for granted that both the European proletarian revolution and the Asian anti-colonial revolution were inevitable, on the ground that the existence of imperialism naturally gives rise to the opportunity of revolution. The European proletarian movement, acting in concert with the Asian anti-colonial movement, would unquestionably constitute a main current of world revolu-

tion which would be so formidable that no bourgeois country could possibly hold it in check.

Hence, the world revolution, for Lenin, is inevitable at any rate; its fuse is imperialism. This leads to the conclusion of Lenin, who asserts: "Imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution."⁴ Furthermore, Lenin not only regarded both Capitalism and Imperialism as synonymous, but also believed that when the development of Capitalism reaches its climax it becomes Imperialism, which is, in turn, the medium of international war. Accordingly, he calls the First World War a war of dividing spoils among the imperialists. The following are his own words: "It is proved in the pamphlet that the war of 1914-18 was imperialistic (that is, annexationist, predatory, plunderous war) on the part of both sides; it was a war for the division of the world, for the partition and repartition of colonies, spheres of influence of finance capital, etc."⁵

Granting that the development of Capitalism is undeniably the cause of the expansion of Imperialism, and that anti-colonial nationalism results from the oppression of imperialists; it is unjustifiable, however, to maintain that World War I was a war of dividing spoils among the imperialists. The main cause of World War I was undoubtedly Germany's ambition to dominate Europe. Both Great Britain and France, for the sake of maintaining the balance of power in Europe and safeguarding their national security, were forced to declare war against Germany. Meanwhile, the reason for America's involvement was the sinking of one of her ships by a German submarine together with the imperative need to support both England and France. Immediately after Armistice (Nov. 11, 1918) Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, laid great stress on national self-determination during the Peace Conference in Paris. In the course of the Paris Conference many small East European countries such as Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc., were made independent and free as a result of Wilson's advocate. Wilson's noble ideal, based on maintaining the national independence of all countries, strong and weak, merits the high commendation of mankind.

Another fruitful outcome of the Paris Conference was the

¹J. Stalin, *The Problem of Leninism*, p. 16.

²*Works of Lenin*, Third Russian Edition, vol. IV, p. 382.

³*Ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 385.

⁴*Works of Lenin*, vol. XIX, p. 71.

⁵Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. I, Part II, p. 436.

establishment of the League of Nations. Despite its failure in later years, its lofty ideal is worthy of the admiration and memory of later generations. In short, the Paris Conference, instead of furthering colonialism or dividing the spoils, brought freedom and independence to many East European states. At the same time, the United States, instead of dividing the influential spheres of financial capital, helped its economically-bankrupt allies to overcome their financial crisis by offering them big loans. This huge financial aid on the part of the United States enabled its allies to recover their national economies, which would have been desperately paralyzed had they not received American loans.

Lenin insisted on violent revolution of the proletariat in various countries with a view to overturning the political structure of different states. He said: "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one."⁶

The whole world would be turned upside down by a horrible hurricane of proletarian revolution, which would inevitably cause tremendous bloodshed in the course of large-scale riots and destruction. The Communists consider all the non-proletarian elements, such as the petty bourgeois, landlords, capitalists, etc., the enemies of the proletarian class, before whose altar they have to sacrifice their lives unconditionally. The so-called bourgeoisie, or petty bourgeoisie, consists of 70 to 80 per cent of a country's whole population. What the communists call "petty bourgeoisie" refers mainly to the middle class, which constitutes the majority of every nation. In a country like the United States, for instance, whose industry is most highly developed, factory workers total only 19,768,000, and farmers amount to 12,954,000, out of which 75 percent are small farm owners, 17.1 are tenants (1957 est.). While the incomes of the farmers are not equal, the living standard is more or less on the same level. Taking the United States as a whole, per capita income in 1968 was \$3,412. On a state basis, it varies in different states. Connecticut was at the top, with \$4,231, and Mississippi was at the bottom, with \$2,057.

Are the 19,768,000 workers together with the 12,954,000 farmers the proletariat in America? (As a matter of fact, the American workers' living standard is by no means lower than

that of the white-collar employees.) If the workers and the farmers launch a revolution in the United States in accordance with Lenin's scheme, this means 32,722,000 people, the total of American factory workers and farmers, fighting against the rest of the population. Is not the interest of the minority then secured at the expense of an overwhelming majority? Such being the case, what is the value of such revolution as advocated by Lenin? And what is the utility of having such a regime? Moreover, what would this kind of revolution bring to mankind but disaster?

(2) Dictatorship or Democracy?

The dictatorship of the proletariat has long been the common cause of the Communist bloc, but the idea of democracy is entirely in direct opposition to Communist ideology. The contrast between democracy and dictatorship is just as great as the difference between water and fire. When one insists on dictatorship, one has to abandon democracy, and vice versa. It is well known to the whole world that both Marx and Lenin were not in favor of democracy. Marx, when he wrote *The Critique of the Gotha Programme* in 1875, declared that the term "social democracy" is fallacious.

Lenin, like his master Marx, was convinced that the inevitable process of social development is from Capitalism to Socialism, which, in turn, leads to Communism. As soon as the communistic stage is ushered in, the ideal that "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is simultaneously realized. This utopia does not by any means originate from either Marx or Lenin. The Chinese Confucian philosopher of the former Han dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D.25) had brought to light this ideal in the *Li Chi*, The Book of Rites, one of the Thirteen classics. It regards: "When the grand cause was pursued . . . a competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. They accumulated goods, which should not be wasted upon the ground, not for their own gratification. They labored with their strength which should not be exerted

⁶*Works of Lenin*, vol. XXIII, p. 342.

for their own advantage. . . ." We find in the said quotation from the Book of Rites the same kind of ideal as is advocated by modern socialists. Nevertheless, in the same chapter of this book was written: "When the grand cause was pursued, the whole world was characterized by public spirit; they elected men of virtue and ability they were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony."⁷ The basic notion brought forth in this chapter is quite in line with the spirit of modern democracy; contrarily, it does not tolerate in the least any idea of dictatorship such as that maintained by Lenin.

Lenin opposed democracy on the ground that "Democracy is one of the forms of the state, whereas we Marxists are opposed to all and every kind of state. . . . The difference between Marxism and Anarchism is that Marxism recognizes the necessity of the state for the purpose of transition to Socialism; but (and here is where we differ from Kautsky and co.) not a state of the type of the usual parliamentary bourgeois democratic republic, but a state like the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of 1905 and 1917."⁸ Marxists, as well as Leninists, have been dreaming that the state, being an instrument of the bourgeoisie for the oppression of the proletariat, will no longer be in existence after the conclusion of the transitory period of dictatorship of the proletariat. Kautsky, the revisionist of Marxism, is right when he points out that the word dictatorship means the abolition of democracy.

In his article, "Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," Lenin writes: "In order to transform Kautsky's liberal and false assertion into a Marxian and true one, one must say: dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abolition of democracy for the class that exercises the dictatorship over the other classes; but it necessarily does mean the abolition of democracy for the class over which, or against which, the dictatorship is exercised."⁹ What Lenin actually means is evidently that democracy, if there is such a regime, belongs only to the dictatorial proletariat, and that all other classes subject to the proletarian rule are not entitled to the

⁷Quoted from the chap. "Li Yuen" of the Book of Rites in which the ideal of *Ta-tung* (cosmopolitanism) is brought forth. This is the oldest utopia representing the Confucian political ideal.

⁸Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. II, Part I, p. 57.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 40.

right of democracy. In other words, democracy is, as it were, the privilege enjoyed alone by the ruling class, not something to be shared in common among the governed. That "The state governor can put any house on fire as he likes, whereas the commoner is not allowed to light his lamp," accounts for the real nature of Marxism-Leninism.

At the same time, let us realize that what Lenin calls "the democracy of the proletarian ruling class" is totally unjustifiable; because the dictatorship is one-hundred per cent tyranny, whose essential characteristic is violence rather than law. Just glancing over the statement of Lenin, the reader will presumably not take my remarks for exaggeration. Here are Lenin's own words: "Dictatorship is rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws."¹⁰ Kautsky did not overstate it when he asserted that the word "dictatorship" means the abolition of democracy. Is it possible to have democracy under dictatorship? Taking dictatorship for democracy is tantamount to confusing prostitution with chasteness, or regarding corruption as integrity. If there is no chaste prostitute in the world, how can you expect to have "democratic dictatorship?" Such a self-contradictory phrase as "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" was, in fact, coined by Lenin. Thanks to the same type of genius as Lenin possessed, Mao Tse-tung formulated his time-honored slogan, "the people's democratic dictatorship," which, however extremely illogical, has unfortunately been enshrined as the Bible of the Chinese Communist Party.

Furthermore, Lenin says: "From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. . . . Soviet, or proletarian, democracy was born in Russia. The Paris Commune was the first epoch-making step; this was the second. The proletarian-peasant soviet Republic has proved to be the first stable socialist republic in the world. As a new type of state, it cannot die. It no longer stands alone."¹¹

Since 1917, the Soviet Republic has been, of course, the new type of state in name by the dictatorship of the workers and peasants. Yet in fact, it is under the dictatorship of one single party—the Bolshevik; nay, of one man, as both Kautsky and

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 204.

Trotsky conceived. Prior to Lenin's death, it was the dictatorship of Lenin. After his death, Stalin became the dictator. In the train of Stalin's death followed the so-called collective leadership, of which Khrushchev was the main advocate.

The characteristic of modern democracy lies in Abraham Lincoln's noted saying—"A government of the people, by the people, and for the people." People are, under a democratic regime, entitled to all such civil rights as freedom of faith, freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of organization, etc. Can the people behind the Iron Curtain enjoy these basic civil rights? There is no doubt that all the Communist countries are, without exception, the states of the party, by the party, and for the party. Above all, the Communist state tolerates no opposition party, no multi-party system, no public opinion, and, worst of all, no individual freedom whatsoever. Lenin, like many other Communists, practiced dictatorship under the disguise of democracy. By so doing, he thought he could make fools of the people. Unfortunately, Lenin failed to realize the truth of Lincoln's warning: "You may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all the time." (Mao Tse-tung has been practicing all along the policy of fooling the people in China. He is even more self-contradictory than Lenin in this matter, because he is aware that people's eyes are crystal-keen, on the one hand; he kept on fooling them all the time, on the other.)

The reason why Lenin opposed the multi-party system is ridiculous. He felt that there were only two classes in the Soviet Union, namely, the workers and the peasants. All other classes such as landlords, petty bourgeoisie and intellectuals were to be wiped out altogether as a result of the proletarian revolution. Since the workers and peasants were on good terms with one another, Lenin felt it quite unnecessary to allow the existence of political groups other than the Communist Party itself. Lenin, like many other Communists, was of the opinion that people other than the Communists are not such genuine citizens as should be granted the same political rights as those enjoyed by the Communists. In other words, the people outside the Communist Party should sacrifice all they have in the interest of the Communist regime; otherwise, they will be branded, without discrimination, as counter-revolutionaries who deserve severe punishment. It is

no wonder the Polish workers' movement to claim freedom and bread, and the Hungarian revolt against oppression, were ruthlessly suppressed.

Another reason for Lenin's opposition to the multi-party system is brought forth clearly by his own words: "In the USSR there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interest, far from being mutually hostile, are, on the contrary, friendly. Hence there is no ground in the USSR for the existence of several parties, and, consequently, for freedom for these parties."¹²

Is there any argument as tremendously fallacious as that of Lenin's quoted above? If in the USSR there are only two classes, workers and peasants; then we are led, in terms of an Aristotelian syllogism, to the following conclusion:

"Those countries which recognize only the dictatorship of the proletariat are the absolutely despotic countries.

The Soviet Union recognizes only the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Therefore, the Soviet Union is an absolutely despotic country."

In like manner, another conclusion may be drawn thus:

"The country that practices one-party dictatorship is not democratic;

The Soviet Union practices one-party dictatorship;

Hence, the Soviet Union is not democratic.

On the supposition that in the Soviet Union there are two classes only, and that these two classes are not hostile to each other at all; then there is, in this country, no room whatever for class war, nay, no possibility at any rate for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Is it not most ridiculous and, self-contradictory for Lenin to maintain, on the one hand, that in the USSR there is no hostility between the two classes, workers and peasants; and, on the other hand, to hold that class war and dictatorship must be rigorously enforced in his Fatherland, in which there are, as he himself admits, only two friendly classes? Blindly following Marx's phantasmic doctrine, Lenin believed that the state would wither away through the transitional period of the dictatorship

¹²*Leninism: Selected Writings*, New York, 1942, p. 395.

of the proletariat. Meanwhile, he boldly declared: "The Soviet Union, as a new type of state, cannot die." Could any contradiction be greater than this one? In fact, the Soviet Union, being steadily in the process of expansion, has turned many formerly-independent states into her satellites during the past fifty years, and cannot be considered less aggressive than the Tsarist regime. Hence, there is no likelihood of her withering away, so long as her sweet dream of world dominion remains undisturbed. This is, however, tremendously acute irony to Marx's dogma of a stateless society.

(3) *Peace or War?*

The Kremlin dictator has cried time and again for peace, as if the Soviet Union today were the only pioneer of humanitarianism and diametrically opposed to homicidal war. In view of this peaceful offensive, many superficial observers, bewitched by sugared slogans and a gentle disguise, have mistaken the Kremlin's pretended peace propaganda as sincerely motivated. Many people, especially the so-called neutralists, are of the opinion that the genuine forerunner of peace is the Communist bloc. Such incorrect judgment, if not checked in time, will certainly prejudice world opinion, as well as aggravate the crime of Red imperialism. Marxism-Leninism has long been blindly worshipped as the infallible canon in the Soviet Union and her satellites. Evidently, they are exploiting peace offensives to gain time with a view to strengthening internal military preparation; to infiltrating into neutral or non-Communist nations; and to slacken the vigilance of the West.

It is generally admitted that Marxism-Leninism, based on the world revolution and bloody class struggle, is obviously in conflict with peace. Peace, for the Communists, is of course the most desirable camouflage for aggression, which can be brought about fruitfully by following the strategy of Sun Tzu, who said: "To conquer the enemy without resort to war is the best strategy."¹³ In other words, no instrument, it seems to the Soviet leaders, could be more effective and more useful than peace propaganda for satisfying their ambition of world domination. Only through

¹³Sun Tzu, the author of "The Art of War."

peace propaganda, so far as they believe, can the war-disgusted people at home be fooled, and the vigilance of the democracies abroad be relaxed.

The best illustration of this point is well-pictured by Lenin, whose words read: "The proletarian revolutions which are maturing in all advanced countries of the world will be unable to solve their problems unless they combine the ability to fight heroically and to attack with the ability to retreat in good revolutionary order."¹⁴

Lenin's "advancing by retreat" tactic has more than once allured the Western countries to his snare. Even today, many politicians believe that the Communists' peace gesture is trustworthy; and the Communist regime, either Peking or the Kremlin, seems sincerely to secure reconciliation so that world tension may be relaxed. It is no wonder that, while Khrushchev called time and again for peaceful co-existence, he did not refrain from hiding his ambition of burying the West.

It is, however, encouraging that a non-aggression and co-operation treaty between the Soviet Union and West Germany was concluded in August, 1970. This treaty is conducive to the stability of Europe. In 1939 the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, but it was violated by Hitler in 1941 as a result of his surprise attack on Russia. Also in 1939 Russia abrogated a non-aggression pact with Finland and took a large part of its land.

Probably it is not too much to say that whoever believes what the Communists profess should, it seems to me, be considered either a jackass or a naive person. Let us just reflect for a moment on how many international treaties have been torn into pieces by the Communists; how often they have lured the neighboring nations into their trap; how frequently they have tried to throw dust into the eyes of democracies. Who can possibly take their ostensibly smiling face for a real manifestation of sincerity, so long as they stick firmly to the fundamental tactics of their master Lenin? The following is his answer: "Boycott war—that is a silly catch-phrase. Communists must take part in every war, even in the most reactionary."¹⁵ He quoted what Napoleon asserted to

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 705.

¹⁴Lenin, *Selected Works*, vol. 11, pt. II, p. 680.

justify his philosophy of war. "*On s'engage et puis . . . on voit.*"¹⁶

In order to ensure the success of the proletarian revolution, Lenin insisted on the supremacy of war. Everything, for Lenin, must be done in the interest of war and for the victory of military operations. He says: "All the work of all institutions must be adapted to the war and placed on a military footing!"¹⁷ In order to encourage the people to die for the Soviet Union, all glory is attributed to the soldiers, and those who fall in battle are enshrined as national heroes. "Eternal glory to those died in the foremost ranks of the Red Army!"¹⁸

In the wake of the October Revolution in 1917, the Soviet Union faced an unprecedented crisis. The Bolsheviks had to resist the all-out interference and encirclement by the anti-Communist countries. At the same time, the internal rebellions of Yudenich, Kolchak, Denikin, etc. had to be suppressed one after another. At such a crucial time Lenin had no alternative but marshaled all military forces available to safeguard his administration. Lenin clamored: "The population must be mobilized for war to a man." His clamor for war under such critical circumstances is, however, understandable.

Lenin would have in no way given up his advocacy of war even if the Soviet Union had not been threatened by both internal and external enemies. According to his world-revolutionary theory, war, being an eternal mission of the proletariat, is inevitable and a part of Communist daily life. So long as the bourgeois class exists, war cannot be avoided by any means unless the world is completely transformed into a pure Communist commonwealth; otherwise, no peace whatever can be expected on the ground that the proletarian revolution is international in nature, and war, as the means of revolution, is also international. Apparently, Lenin's basic idea is that there is no likelihood for Communism to exist with Capitalism; as a result, a life and death struggle between the two is apt to occur at any time. That there would be no revolution if there were no war is a premise leading to the fallacious conclusion that it is futile to talk about peace while we are calling for revolution.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 727.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 315.

After World War II, the Soviet Union under the banner of Marxism-Leninism successively seized Outer Mongolia and the Manchurian industrial equipment left by the Japanese, together with all arms and munitions from the surrendered Japanese army. In East Europe she turned more than a half-dozen independent states into her satellites, with the aim of monopolizing their markets and seizing their raw material by means of economic aggression. In 1953 the East German people, who staged an anti-tyranny movement, were ruthlessly suppressed. Many of them were tortured and killed by Soviet tanks and machine guns. In June 1956, the Polish of Poznan, whose revolt was in struggling for freedom and bread, were relentlessly vanquished by the puppet regime of the Soviet. By the same token, in October 1956, the liberty-loving Hungarians who demanded the withdrawal of the Soviet army, along with the restoration of freedom, sacrificed numerous lives under indiscriminate fire of Soviet machine guns. While the trend toward liberation was strongly supported by Czechoslovakia's people, also it was opposed by the Soviet. On August 20, 1968, the Soviet, regardless of world opinion, invaded and occupied Czechoslovakia. These aforementioned facts suffice to establish that Leninism, characterized by dictatorship, belligerency, world revolution, etc., has been abused and turned out of Lenin's expectation into a new type of socialist imperialism.

(4) *Hatred or Love?*

In the lexicon of the Marxists and Leninists one can find no such word as "love." That the starting point of Marxism-Leninism is based on hatred has long been recognized by Communists as well as non-Communists. Whenever one reads the writings of Marx or Lenin one cannot but be deeply impressed with the fact that distraction, violence, terrorism and hatred are particularly emphasized with a view to stirring up the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat. Both class war and dictatorship are the cornerstone of Marxism-Leninism; and both are based on hatred. Neither class war nor dictatorship would possibly be carried out, if human beings could love one another.

Human nature, from the psychological point of view, is the mixture of good and evil. The two Chinese philosophers, Mencius and Hsung Tzu, born in the period of the Fighting States (481-

221 B.C.), each emphasized one side of the picture; the former maintains that human nature is good, while the latter holds the opposite view. We must, however, admit that human nature consists of two main impulses: self-regarding or possessive impulse on the one hand, and others-regarding or creative impulse on the other. These two find expression in hatred and love respectively. What philosophers and religious leaders have been teaching to the world is that man should control his self-regarding impulse by reason, so as to develop the others-regarding impulse to its highest. In other words, the animal nature, such as brutality, greed, combat, all comes from the same source—hatred; and these instincts should be put under strict restraint by cultivating the feeling of love.

World history indicates clearly that blessing and curse result alternatively from love and hatred. Has there been a single case in human history controverting the fact that all dreadful disasters are due to man's evil motive, which is, in turn, the outcome of hatred? It is said in the *Shu Ching* (The Book of History), one of the Thirteen Chinese Classics, that "The mind of man is hazardous, and the mind of Heaven is obscure." This truth is tenable to the end of time. Socrates held that "know thyself" is the root of virtue; and Jesus' new commandment is "love ye one another." Furthermore, mercy, the fundamental principle of Buddhism, has been widely advocated by Buddhists of various lands. Undoubtedly, all these indicate that the essential distinction between man and beast lies in the fact that the former is endowed with reason and altruistic impulses, whereas the latter is devoid of them. Although most, if not all, of the animals possess the instinct of aiding the group and caring the young, they are not gifted with such mental capacity as man's reasoning and universal love towards all fellow human beings.

Since the Communists' conception of life is based on hatred rather than love, they regard human beings as dead machines or soulless creatures. For lack of sympathy and love, all inhuman actions practiced by the Communist regime in the name of proletarian dictatorship surpass all past tyrants in world history. In order to arouse the feeling of hatred and spur their courage to annihilate the opponents, the bourgeoisie, every Communist acts as a full-armed soldier at the front ready to kill others on the

spot. Otherwise, he is no longer considered a good Communist or a worthy proletarian revolutionary.

One of the most popular slogans prevalent among the Communists is "Lenient to the enemy means cruel to yourself." In short, what they deem the right thing to do is to make the opponents the victims of their cruelty. Unfortunately, the tragedy in the Communist countries is that the so-called enemies of the Communists are always without exception the masses of the people. That is to say, all those who are neither adherents of the Communist party nor the constituents of the proletariat are considered the most hated foes who should be either brainwashed or wiped out root and branch. According to Lenin, the basic revolutionary force of the proletariat consists, as mentioned previously, of only two classes, the workers and the poor peasants. Such bourgeoisie as capitalists, landlords, intellectuals, rich farmers, petty proprietors, together with the whole of the middle class, are doomed to be persecuted, tortured and finally annihilated. Apart from the sacrifice of their lives, all their property such as land, houses, and other real estate is confiscated. In brief, the overwhelming majority of the people, for not being proletariat, fall prey to the tyranny of an extremely small minority—the Communist Party.

That the Communist Revolution owed its success to hatred and bloody violence is confirmed more than once by Lenin, who said: "Hate imperialist marauders, hate Capitalism, death to Capitalism."¹⁹

Again he stressed: "The epochs of war teach us that peace has not infrequently in history served as respite and a means of mustering forces for new battles."²⁰

Let us bear in mind the significant fact that the class war, for Lenin, must be carried on continuously, permanently, and as thoroughly as possible, and that it should neither be concluded by the dictatorship of the proletariat nor be brought to an end at a time when the bourgeoisie is not completely destroyed. "The dictatorship of the proletariat," declared Lenin, "is not the end of class struggle, but its continuation in new forms. The dictator-

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 446.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 444.

ship is the class struggle of the proletariat, which has won victory and has seized political power, against the bourgeoisie, which although vanquished has not been annihilated, has not disappeared, has not ceased its resistance, has increased its resistance."²¹

What Lenin stated above evidently indicates that the main objective of class struggle is the complete destruction of the whole bourgeoisie once and for all. In other words, the final victory of class war and the ultimate realization of the abnormal psychology of hatred lie in the total ruin of the propertied class. To make the rich poor and the poor poorer is only halfway in a struggle whose main job, in the eyes of the Communists, cannot be claimed well done unless and until the bourgeoisie is eliminated altogether.

Moreover, we should realize that the dictatorship, as described by Lenin, is exactly enslavement of the overwhelming majority by a small minority. On this special point, Lenin himself frankly admitted when he addressed the Second Congress of the Comintern: "Only this class-conscious minority can guide the broad masses of the workers and lead them by the dictatorship of the proletariat. We mean in essence the dictatorship of the organized and class-conscious minority."²² Again, the tyranny of the minority was confirmed by what Stalin called Lenin's golden words, stated at the Eleventh Congress of the Russian Communist Party: "Among the mass of the people we (the Communists) are after all but a drop of the ocean."²³

After the death of Stalin, the contest for the dictatorship among the Kremlin top-level rivals has been so acute that they were forced to adopt the specious "collective leadership," in consideration of the impossibility of putting the crown on a single man's head. In order to lull the free world to a sound sleep, they used the sugar-coated watchword "co-existence" as the most effective lullaby. In fact, Lenin never believed that the Western democracies could in any way exist side by side with the Soviet Union. Lenin positively made it very clear by saying:

"The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the

other must triumph in the end. And before that end comes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."²⁴

Above all, to overthrow the regime of all bourgeois states and to consummate the proletarian revolution nationally as well as internationally stands, beyond doubt, for the essence of Leninism. The sharpest weapon for wiping out the bourgeoisie relies on relentless class war together with the enslavement of the vast majority by the tyranny of a single party. Both struggle and dictatorship would be utterly impossible but for the awakening of class-consciousness, which is, again, the expression of hatred psychology. In other words, not resorting to hatred there would be no class-consciousness whatever. By the same token, short of class-consciousness, class war is merely something like a castle in the air; and the dictatorship, if not preceded by class war, is merely a daydream.

That the Communists strongly oppose leniency and reconciliation among fellow human beings betrays their antagonism to love and human nature. By so doing, not only is man's status in the universe degraded to the level of beasts, but also the human society whose existence relies on social ethics and common ideals will become a barbarous and primitively-shaped community. As a result, all truth accumulated hitherto by philosophers and scientists, along with the value and dignity of man, are completely cast away.

Now that Leninism, like Marxism, has been widely studied since 1917 and regarded as the infallible creed by the Communists, it would, it seems to me, be futile to talk about the suppression of internal insurgency plotted by the Communists short of such an ideological reconstruction as would convince the youth of a better ideology and urge them to have a thorough understanding of a new philosophy which is based on love rather than hatred.

The Soviet's brutal action in Hungary in October 1956 reveals plainly barbarity and ignorance of the Kremlin authorities. Such shameful aggression against the innocent Hungarians has not only stigmatized the history of the Russians, but has also affected in no small degree the advance of human civilization. The whole world is aware that the Soviet invasion in violation of

²¹J. Stalin, *The Problem of Leninism*, p. 159.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 169.

²³Lenin, *Works*, vol. XXVII, p. 256.

²⁴*Op. cit.*, vol. XXIV, p. 122.

justice and national independence of other countries reflects her ambition of world domination based on Lenin's strategy of international revolution of the proletariat. There is no wonder that the Soviet smiling and hand-shaking new look, together with their soft talk such as "world peace," "overall disarmament," "co-existence of the Communist countries with the West," etc., have thus far failed to win the confidence of the world.

Despite the shake-up taking place from time to time both in the Kremlin and in the satellites, there has been no indication that the Communist leaders have shown any intention of replacing Marxism-Leninism with a more progressive ideology which would meet the demands of a new age. When I say Marxism-Leninism is outmoded I do not mean to hint that both Marx and Lenin are men of insignificance. Historically they brought about epoch-making changes politically as well as economically. The remedies they prescribed respectively either for Russia or for the world at large in those days cannot be called totally ineffective. But time has changed tremendously during the past century. Probably neither Marx nor Lenin would have endorsed the invasion of Hungary in 1956, nor would they have approved of the interference with the democratic reform of Czechoslovakia in 1968, were they alive then.

Undoubtedly, both Marx and Lenin would have condemned, were they living, what Mao Tse-tung has been doing in China. The unprecedented wholesale slaughter, the bloodthirsty "great cultural revolution" and the overall persecution of the intelligentsia would in no way win their favor. Both the Soviet Union and China would enjoy prosperity and peace permanently were they willing to give up the antiquated Marxism-Leninism from now on and adopt a new politico-economic philosophy required by the people of the Space Age—an age of international reconciliation and interplanetary communication.

Chapter IV

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF CO-WEALTHISM

(1) *The Crisis of Mankind and the Deliverance*

The crisis confronting men today is unprecedented. Threatened by nuclear weapons, everyone today is perfectly aware of the fact that, if we are not in a position to abolish war, war will annihilate us. Of course, mankind neither wishes to commit suicide collectively nor can afford to see world civilization totally ruined. Who can give us a concrete answer, however, as to whether another world war may eventually be avoided at a time when the Communists' ambition of world domination increases with the growth of power, economic and military? But the crisis, however serious it seems to be, is not by any means remediless. The future of the world will in no way be desperately hopeless so long as we ourselves, who have the responsibility of averting global disaster, keep our courage up and do something about it right now.

History is created by man, whose blessings as well as curses are products of his own hands. In like manner man's destiny in the future is certainly going to be determined by himself. Everything, from individual welfare to social and world vicissitude, follows one's own will, be it good or bad. In other words, the whole world was, is, and will be transformed coincidentally in accordance with what we desire and think. As an individual who intended to be good all the time would never be turned into a vicious man, so the disaster of war would on no account befall humanity provided everybody were really determined to maintain a lasting peace with justice. The Chinese proverb, "both

calamity and happiness are caused by ourselves," has long been a proven truth.

We must admit that the world crisis we are facing today must be attributed to our own faults. It is due to the loss of reason on our part that we are first of all enslaved by such evil passions and impulses as prejudice, selfishness, cruelty, arrogance, etc. As a result, others are likewise enslaved by our irrational doctrine.

The emergence of totalitarianism and world tension resulting from the conflict between the Communist bloc and the free nations is due mainly to divergence of thought, rather than the difference in political or economic institutions. We are, therefore, convinced that the answer as to how to save the world from ruin can be sought only in the reorientation of human ideology, instead of in mere appeals to piecemeal reform of systems.

Peace is, of course, not within our reach as long as the Communists do not give up their ambition to engulf the whole world by means of dictatorship and class war. Obviously it is because of the contradiction between totalitarianism and democracy, between despotism and freedom, between hatred and love, etc., that the Communist bloc cannot get along with the free nations. A certain historian points out that, as the Mohammedan states co-exist with the Christian countries, so should the Communists with the democracies. He failed to see, however, that in spite of the difference in creed and ceremony between Mohammedanism and Christianity, they have managed to co-exist on account of the fact that both, believing in a personal God, are strongly opposed to atheism. Unfortunately, no such common belief exists between the Communist bloc and the West. It is thereby most unlikely for the two hostile camps to enjoy a permanent co-existence. What shall they do? Will one bring the other to terms by force? Or will both be annihilated simultaneously?

Neither side would surrender unless one side took the initiative to risk an all-out nuclear war. But mankind can never afford to have such a war, as it would destroy the whole world once and for all. Then how can men solve this dilemma? A global disaster caused by nuclear hostility is just as undesirable and impossible as is constantly living in fear and threat under the mask of insincere co-existence. There is no doubt that the only possible remedy for the present world lies in the formation of a new ism or a new philosophy by which the false ideology based on Marxism-Len-

inism may be brought to an end. This new ism or new philosophy, in order to meet the urgent needs of the world, must be so progressive and comprehensive as to be able to fill the ideological vacuum of those whose interest is focused neither upon the antiquated Marxism-Leninism nor upon the discarded Capitalism.

Co-wealthism, as I have referred to it previously, aims politically at reconciling the conflict between the individual and the state, and between nationalism and internationalism; and economically, at removing the abuses resulting from individual competition and excessive state interference. These steps will promote cooperation among various classes and get rid of class war and one-party dictatorship, with a view to furthering the happiness of all. When Co-wealthism is put into effect, mankind at large will certainly enjoy a life of peace, equality and freedom, instead of being plagued by persecution, brainwashing, torture and enslavement. In short, in a co-wealthy community, which should on no account be regarded as an unrealizable utopia, people are free from poverty and fear. It is a new era brought about by reason and love.

While confronting the formidable hazards caused by false ideology, we should in no sense be pessimistic. The world, however deeply plunged into a state of chaos, is by no means so terribly ill as to be entirely incurable. World tension has, of course, been greatly aggravated since Moscow's claim made in August 1957 that it has developed an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) capable of carrying a hydrogen warhead. Should Soviet nuclear technology really be ahead of that of the United States, then the security of the latter could not be expected to be free from serious threat. Nevertheless, the catastrophe confronting the world in general, annoying to the Americans in particular, would be just as great even if the two powers were equal in nuclear potentiality. Undoubtedly it would be much safer for the world provided the deterrent power were permanently an American monopoly, on the ground that America would not by any means take the initiative to attack other countries.

The best way of avoiding nuclear destruction is, it seems to me, to strengthen air defense, by means of new techniques. Despite the inadequacy of American air defense there is, however, increasing evidence that the United States is paying more attention to effective air defense, even against missiles. The Distant Early Warning Line, for instance, which has opened for business in

the sub-Arctic, marks the beginning of a new era in the history of American air defense. If the technological breakthroughs can be brought about before long, the invulnerability of the United States will remain intact henceforth; and the security of America means literally the safety of the free world indeed. I believe that an all-out hostility would absolutely be unlikely in case the air defense of both sides were so effective that neither side could invade the other by missiles at all. This balance of air-defense power is unquestionably the surest warrant of world peace. Would not the defensive nuclear weapons be surpassed by offensive weapons? It depends mainly on the wisdom and efforts of scientists who are, if driven by a strong will for peace, in a position to maintain the supremacy of air defense as long as they wish. Herein lies the key to the future destiny of man.

(2) *The New Thought and the New Age*

Both the civilization and history of man are in fact the accumulation and record of thought, without which man's life would be exactly the same as that of the primitive savages or apes. The reason why man alone is gifted with profound thought? Glancing over history, one is bound to be deeply impressed with the fact that the transformations of various ages as well as the evolution of world civilization are the result of human thought. It is evidently through the contribution of thought that man was enabled to make tools and machines, to invent sciences and institutions, to improve literature and fine arts, to further the progress of medicine and sanitation, to innovate government and education, and, most important of all, to lift up the standard of living. What would our civilization be like had we not been endowed with the faculty of thought?

Those who deserve to be held in great esteem in history are neither courageous conquerors nor men of erudition, neither commercial and industrial magnates nor shrewd politicians, but outstanding philosophers and self-denying religious leaders who shouldered the responsibility of world regeneration as well as of cultural reconstruction. Let us reflect for a moment. What would we and our civilization be like nowadays if it were not for the fact that, accidentally, the great thinkers such as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, etc. were successively born in Greece; and that, orientally,

the great prophets such as Christ, Buddha, and Mohammed, together with such brilliant philosophers as Confucius, Mencius, Mo Tzu, Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, etc., were born among the Asians? Whenever one thinks of the significance of thought and its bearing on the evolution of human civilization, one cannot but be reminded of the remarks of A. Schweitzer, who said: "Nothing but what is born of thought and addresses itself to thought can be a spiritual power affecting the whole of mankind."¹ As to the danger resulting from intellectual poverty, Schweitzer warned us thus: "Moreover, our age was poorer in deep thinkers than perhaps any preceding one."²

Indeed, it is thought that man's happiness has constantly been promoted, on the one hand; again it is thought that numerous calamities have been inflicted upon man, on the other. Machiavelli, for example, laid great stress in his *The Prince* on the fact that a ruler will perish if he is always good; he must, therefore, be as cunning as a fox and as fierce as a lion; and a prince must on occasion be faithless. He should keep faith only when it pays to do so, but not otherwise.³ There is no doubt that international ethics, which have already degenerated in no small degree, were brought down to a large extent by Machiavelli's paradox.

The rise of Fascism and Communism can no doubt be largely attributed to German philosophy, especially to that of Hegel, who held that true liberty consists in obedience to an arbitrary authority; that free speech is an evil; that absolute monarchy is good; and that an international organization for the peaceful settlement of disputes would be a misfortune.⁴ Perhaps it is not too much to say that the whole of humanity, especially the Germans, might have avoided two global homicidal hostilities, had Nietzsche not preached his philosophy of the superman. We must first of all realize that Nietzsche (1844-1900) became insane in 1883 and remained so until his death. Whenever we bear this event in mind, we should not be shocked at any rate by the absurd theories expounded in his writings.

¹Albert Schweitzer, *The Decay and the Restoration of Civilization*, p. 86.

²*Ibid.*, p. 84.

³Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Chap. XVIII, quoted from B. Russell's *History of Western Philosophy*, p. 528.

⁴W. Ebenstein, *Modern Political Thought*, p. 4.

In his *Beyond Good and Evil*, Nietzsche praises what is evil and decries what is good. It is, according to Nietzsche, necessary for higher man to make war upon the masses and resist the democratic tendencies of the age; meanwhile, what he calls the noble man should be capable of cruelty. Therefore, a man like Abraham Lincoln is, for him, completely abject; the most magnificent man is Napoleon. In his book *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, he says: "Man should be trained for war and woman for the recreation of the warrior. All else is folly." In short, his superman is wholly devoid of sympathy, kindness, uncunning, concerned only with his own power. He is likened by B. Russell to King Lear, who, on the verge of madness, says:

"I will do such things—
What they are yet I know not—but they shall be the
terror of the earth."⁵

This is indeed Nietzsche's philosophy in a nutshell. When the Germans' ideology was affected by such an abnormal thinker as Nietzsche, who firmly believed that the happiness of the common people is no part of the good *per se*, that all that is good or bad exists only in the superior few. It is no wonder the Germans have been the victims of two world wars.

That a man's philosophy has beyond doubt an intimate connection with the happiness or misery of large sections of mankind is undeniable. One's thought, good or bad, determines one's destiny on the one hand; and it influences to a large extent the vicissitudes of society on the other. Yet thought is both the outcome of environment and the dynamic power of transforming the community. Marxism is a case in point. Marx appeals to violence and ruthless class struggle. His philosophy of hatred, as the basis of violent revolution, results from his inferiority complex which, in turn, originates from his unfortunate fate. His failure to secure a professorship in the Berlin University was not a slight blow to his academic pride; his inability to settle down in either his own country or France, on account of political persecution, was another frustration and agony which he had to endure. His exile in London, despite Engels' support, was everything but happiness. All these grievances, repressed time and again, cannot be said to have not

⁵B. Russell, *History of Western Philosophy*, p. 795.

driven him psychologically to somewhat of a state of mental abnormality, if not to complete madness.

Consequently, mankind today is reaping what Marx has sown. Thanks to the odd thought of Marx, one-third of humanity is enslaved behind the Iron Curtain; not only this, the whole West is now suffering from the Red hysteria. The fear of surprise attack without, together with the fear of peaceful infiltration and subversion within, suffice to keep the whole world in a state of turmoil. Now that the plague of Communism can in no way be removed either by Socialism or by Capitalism, the eventual salvation of the world must be sought, so far as my conviction is concerned, in Co-wealthism. In this new ism lies the possibility of self-realization and self-perfection. Past history, a record of hatred and homicide, must be brought to an end. A new era symbolizing the new hope of man is ahead of us; and it is our obligation, if we cannot bear to see this generation and the next go to ruins, to do what we can to make it a reality.

(3) *Human Desire and Economic Aims*

The economic wants shared in common by all races, both civilized and uncivilized, have hitherto been the basic driving force of cultural evolution. The origin of the state and the rise of civilization cannot but be attributed to human desire. Plato says: "A state arises out of the needs of mankind; no one is self-sufficing, but all of us have many wants."⁶ The same sort of view was held by Chinese classical philosophers, especially Kao Tzu, a contemporary of Mencius, who states: "To enjoy food and delight in opposite sexes is human nature."⁷ In like manner Schiller opines that what makes the world go on unceasingly is hunger and love. It shows that the desires for food and sexual satisfaction are so basic that every race, ancient and modern, can never maintain its bare existence short of these essential wants.

The enjoyment of food is for the preservation of individual life; whereas to delight in the opposite sex—the satisfaction of the sexual instinct—is indispensable for the propagation of offspring. Hunger can be satisfied only by things material, while love is both material and spiritual. The satisfaction of the former instinct

⁶*The Republic*, Jowett translation, p. 49.

⁷*The Works of Mencius*, Book VI, "Kao Tzu," Part 1.

necessitates recourse to economic measures. The enjoyment of the latter, though related to economic problems, depends all the more on one's feelings, such as the appreciation of beauty, which can in no way be interpreted in terms of material things alone.

Apart from these two basic instincts described above, there are three other fundamental desires possessed by all human beings irrespective of their cultural standards: (1) the desire for security; (2) the desire for freedom; (3) the desire for peace. With regard to the problem of security, it is generally admitted that everybody, however intelligent or highly educated he may be, faces three kinds of conflicts: first, the conflict between man and nature; secondly, the conflict between man and man; thirdly, the conflict between man's passion and reason. Since the 18th century, man, owing to the swift progress of science and industry, has been enabled to take tremendous steps toward conquering nature. Man today is no longer completely at the mercy of nature, though man is not in a position to control it perfectly. Nevertheless, it is most likely that one day man, because of the discovery and wide application of atomic energy, will be able to utilize and control the power of nature in such a way as to make it entirely fruitful rather than harmful to the welfare of mankind. Meanwhile, we must not be so complacent or so optimistic as to believe that everything in the world will be all right as soon as we become the master of nature. Even if one day we may presumably control everything on this planet, yet we are not sure whether we would be able to cope with the creatures of other planets, should they be inhabited by living beings. Thus we cannot but be aware of the cold fact that, even if we shall be in a position to dominate nature completely, there is no such likelihood of greatly bettering human relationships, let alone of removing the conflict within man's heart.

History has constantly warned us that the greatest disaster to befall man is that caused by man himself rather than that caused by nature. While admitting that the natural calamities such as flood, drought, plague, etc., are by no means insignificant, we must confess that the miserable consequences resulting from them are far less serious than those of war—a man-made curse. All such man-made distresses as are brought about by tyranny, strife, and bloody persecution have done far greater harm than did any natural calamity.

The man-made disaster comes partly from the conflict be-

tween man and man and partly from the clash between man and himself. There is no doubt that the conflict of the former will certainly be brought to an end provided the conflict of the latter is no longer in existence. All despotism, violence, and homicidal brutality seem to be the outcome of conflict between man and man, but in fact the conflict between man and himself is at the bottom of all those troubles mentioned above. That is to say, the transformation of the world must begin from the regeneration of the individual's life. This fundamental principle, being the essence of Confucian moral philosophy, has been widely advocated but unfortunately not universally practiced among the Chinese intelligentsia for nearly 2,500 years ever since the rise of Confucianism. It is best illustrated in the Chinese classic, the "Great Learning," which says:

"The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the world, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole world was made tranquil and happy. From the Son of Heaven (King) down to the mass of the people, all must consider the cultivation of person the root of everything besides."⁸

The axiom that to secure real world peace one must start with the removal of one's internal conflict of heart was sometimes not only questioned but even ridiculed as impracticable and doltish. Its validity has, however, been proved again and again by modern psychologists who, regarding the moral issues, have voiced the same opinion as pictured above by Confucius.

All disasters, apart from natural calamities, are the products

⁸The "Great Learning," one of the Four Books transmitted by the Confucian School, means the highest principles and the learning of adults.

of man's mind. This has long been confirmed by Mencius, who says: "Calamity and happiness in all cases are men's own seeking." Again he states: "These evils growing in the mind, do injury to government, and displayed in the government, are hurtful to the conduct of affairs."⁹ Both evil and good, interwoven in human nature, are formed partly from inheritance and partly from environment. The greatest influence of environment affecting human nature is probably the economic factor. The Chinese philosophers such as Mencius and Kuan Tzu—though unlike Marx, who goes so far as to consider everything determined by economic factors—are of the opinion that material life is, in fact, the foundation of spiritual life. Naturally, those who are the victims of starvation always turn a deaf ear to moral teachings. On this point what Mencius asserts is worthy of our notice:

"Therefore an intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people, so as to make sure that, above, they shall have sufficient wherewith to serve their parents, and, below, sufficient wherewith to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing. After this he may urge them, they will proceed to what is good; for in this case the people will follow after that with ease."¹⁰

While the man of virtue who has a better educational background is of course not so easily affected by economic influence as are uneducated masses, the ordinary people, for lack of moral cultivation, are prone to do wrong when they are hungry. Hence Mencius warns us thus: "They are only men of education, who, without a livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart. As to the people, if they have not a certain livelihood, it follows that they will not have a fixed heart. And if they have not a fixed heart, there is nothing which they will not do, in the way of self-abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild license."¹¹

The author of Kuan Tzu, a tremendously noted book written in the period of the Fighting States (481-221 B.C.), is thoroughly aware of the fact that, when the people are well-fed and well-

clothed, they know how to distinguish between honor and shame; that the key to the wise rule of a country is first of all to enrich the people; and that the fact that people are not law-abiding, together with social upheaval, are largely, if not completely, due to the distinction between the extremely rich and the extremely poor.¹²

It is undeniable that the most urgent problem confronting the whole world is the economic problem. Such significant issues as how to put an end to famine in the underdeveloped areas; how to improve the economic institutions in various countries; and, finally, how to substitute cooperation and mutual aid for brutal revolution, can find no solution whatsoever in Communism based on class war and dictatorship. The only salvation of the world must be sought in Co-wealthism, which aims at making everybody rich and happy by peaceful and scientific measures.

Nobody can possibly deny the fact that the internal unrest in a country results mainly from the antagonism between the haves and the have-nots. What is true of a nation is also true in the family of nations. The poverty of one country is obviously the burden of the other. At the same time world peace, desired by all, would ever be only a dream if the livelihood of man could not be bettered in one way or another. That Marxism-Leninism applied in the Soviet Union for fifty-six years is not, and will never be, the answer to human problems at any rate. What else has it contributed to the world except the constant fear of war and the threat of global destruction? Inasmuch as Marxism-Leninism has failed to secure freedom, safety and peace for mankind, we must and should have recourse to Co-wealthism. With Co-wealthism, man can do away with his own conflict within his mind by a philosophy of harmony. We can eradicate the conflict between man and man by a political theory of cosmopolitanism; and, finally, we can eliminate the conflict between man and nature by science and technology.

Co-wealthism, as I have pointed out before, is not merely an economic institution or merely a political philosophy. It is a practical and effective project based upon modern social sciences which starts from the standpoint of the world as a whole instead

⁹*The Works of Mencius*, Part II.

¹⁰*Op. cit.*, Part I.

¹¹*The Works of Mencius*, Part I, translated by James Legge.

¹²*The Kuan Tzu*, Chap. 1, "On Shepherding the People" and Chap. 2, "State Economy."

of a single nation. The failure of modern Socialism, however much it advocates internationalism, also may be ascribed to the fact that it stresses only the economic life and economic problems without paying due attention to political and social problems. As a result, the Socialists, for lack of thorough understanding of human nature, have failed to solve today's world issues. Furthermore, the Communists have already led humanity to the brink of destruction.

Man, so far as his intelligence is concerned, should be able to find a solution for all problems confronting him. At the same time, man should also be able to avoid such tragedies as are brought about by famine, disease, war, and ignorance, so as to promote man's welfare and happiness. Apart from natural calamities, all man-made disasters might have been averted, but for the backwardness of social science. While natural science has been advancing with rapid strides, social science, especially in the fundamental principles of both moral and political philosophy, has by no means surpassed the ancient philosophers such as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle in Greece or Confucius, Lao Tzu, Mencius, etc., in the Pre-Chin period of China. While the natural scientists can nowadays either enable man to land on the moon or fill up the channel of the sea by means of atomic energy, our social scientists, having failed to keep up with the times, are still at a loss as to how to better human nature. Thus, the tragedy is that man today is just as much, if not more, enslaved by his own selfishness, jealousy, arrogance, suspicion, prejudice, and hatred, as were those who lived in the days of Socrates. That a genuine scholar living nowadays behind the Iron Curtain enjoys no freedom of thought and is constantly at the mercy of the powers that be fully denotes the same sort of situation as existed in the age of Socrates.

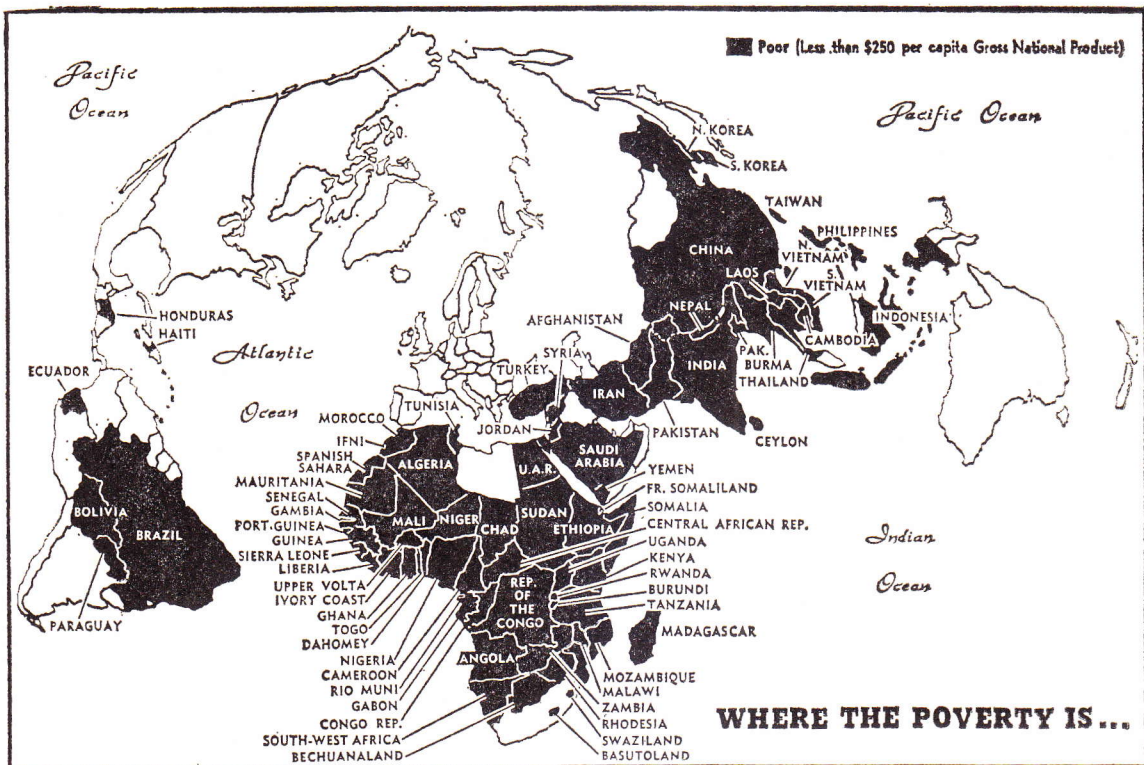
Human nature is not, however, utterly unchangeable. It is generally recognized that man's disposition and emotion may be modified to some extent by virtue of eugenics and eugenics. Everybody's psychology can in no way escape the influence of environment. A certain objective stimulus invites immediately a certain subjective response. Human thought, like many other mental phenomena, is always affected by, or subject to, objective stimuli. Not only are one's mental phenomena bound to be in-

fluenced by environment, but one's mental functions follow somehow or other the dictates of physiological functions.

Despite the contributions made to modern psychology by the Behavioristic, Introspective, and Gestalt schools, psychology is still far from being adequate to offer us any concrete advice as to how to transform human nature at all points. Nevertheless, of late a good deal of new experiences have been secured in relation to the control of emotion and readjustment of mentality, in consequence of progress in the fields of psychoanalysis and psychiatry. Although it is too early at present to talk about the complete transformation of human nature, the psychologists have already given us some hints concerning such mental influences as sublimation, the subconscious and unconscious minds, conditioned reflexes, hetero-suggestions, etc., which have considerable bearing on the formation of personality. It is not out of place to anticipate that the psychologists may in the near future bring about some new measures for the betterment of human nature.

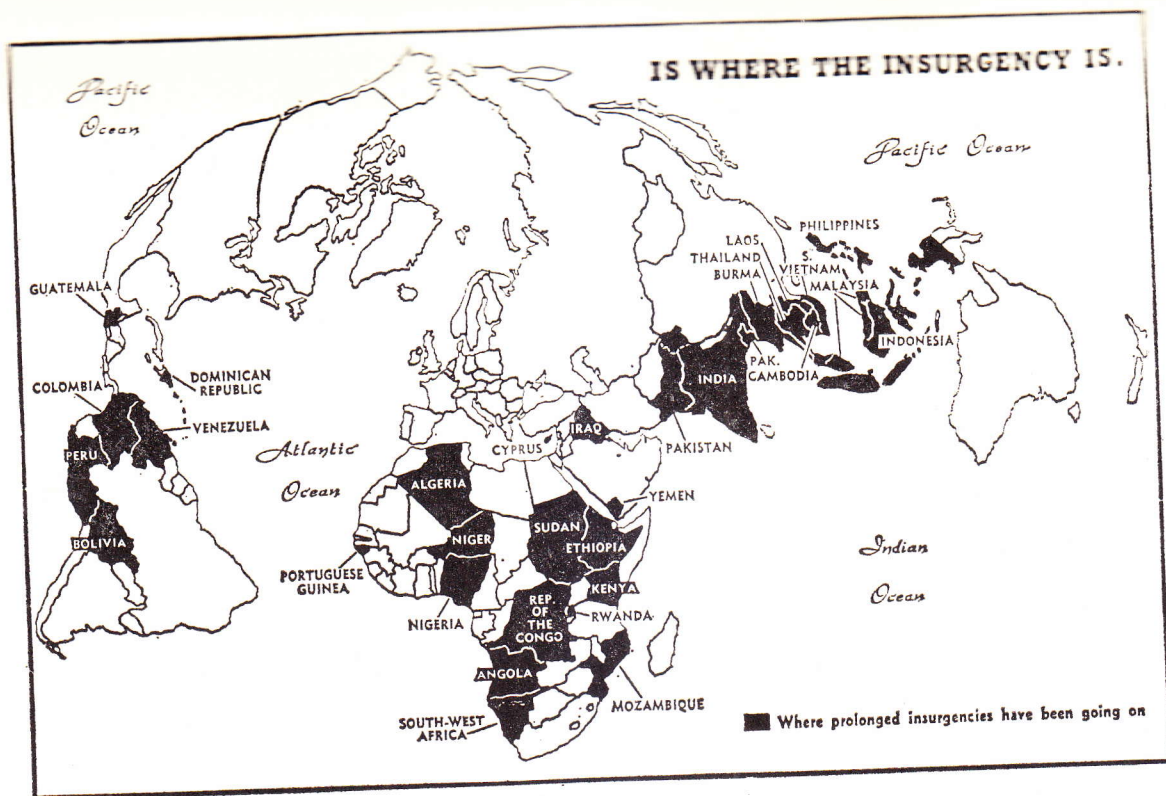
Medical science, like other branches of natural science, is on the threshold of a revolutionary era, in which physicians have the means of curing many diseases that originate in the genes the patients inherit from their parents or grandparents. It has long been the dream of researchers that someday inherited defects might be cured by altering the affected persons' genes. While this likelihood is not just around the corner, it is not beyond the capacity of physicians in the days to come. As one's mentality is closely related to one's physique, man's spiritual life would be greatly affected, even modified, by the change of his physical life. Now that human nature is made what it is by hereditary and environmental influence, certainly it may be altered through the transformation of both heredity and environment. Interdependence and interaction between body and mind indicate the possibility of improving nature through psycho-biological processes. Herein lies the sacred mission of today's scientists, especially the psychologists and biologists whose feats in this field could be as remarkable as man's landing on the moon.

The conflict within one's own mind would disappear, were the problem of human nature solved satisfactorily. Meanwhile, the conflict between man and man would also no longer be in existence. It is, therefore, not beyond our power to create a new



In a speech last week Defense Secretary McNamara identified poverty as the basic cause of violence around the world and urged broader action to help poor nations develop. Map above shows the nations classified as poor by the World Bank. Map below names the countries where some form of forceful resistance to central government was under way last February.

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era for humanity if we pay more attention to this issue; and it is in no way something unrealistic at all. However, the change of human nature cannot be brought about alone through the channel of psychology, for it is closely related to both heredity and environment. That is why the Co-wealthists lay great stress on eugenics as well as euthenics. The reconstruction of the environment depends upon the improvement of education, economy, government, society, religion, arts, and so on. The betterment of heredity must be sought in the reform of such institutions as family, marriage, sex education, legislation, medical research, etc. Such a gigantic task as this can never be satisfactorily carried out in a police state. Only in a co-wealthistic society can this sacred mission be fulfilled on a large scale.

Many economists of the past, like many Socialists, took only the economic problem into consideration, without simultaneously paying heed to the political and social problems. As a result, they failed to realize that by socialization of the means of production and property alone one can never solve the problem of modern man. This is because the problems of production, consumption, and distribution, constituting the essential points of economics, do not represent the whole picture of human life. Man's spiritual desire is as great as his material one. And no economic life, however well projected, could be expected to prosper if the political and social problems, which are far more complicated than are pure economic issues, were not tackled in the same breath. It is known to all that the consequences of enforcing Socialism, if we neglect the significance of the political factors, are nothing but inequality of distribution, dislocation of demand and supply, and shrinkage of production.

In all those countries in which a planned economy is put into effect on a nation-wide scale, and in which state ownership of commerce and industrial enterprise is completely practiced, under the prevalent bureaucratism people cannot get most of their daily necessities, even after having waited for hours in the long queue lined in the front of the state-owned store. What the government can afford to supply is in most of the places not what the consumers demand. Contrarily, what the consumers need urgently can in no way be supplied by the government. The government, under the socialistic banner, wields such concentrated power as to control all the productive, consumptive, and distributive organ-

izations. Consequently, it is bound to give rise to such evident evils as the excessive overlapping and red tape of various offices, central and local, and to the tremendous waste of money, raw material, and manpower resulting from the expansion of bureaucratism as the inevitable outcome of Socialism.

The economic order in the Soviet Union and Communist China, so far as I understand, is a sort of state Socialism which is merely another name for state Capitalism, whose obvious characteristic is that the state itself is the almighty capitalist whose interference and exploitation is so relentless and so inclusive that not only is individual freedom entirely removed, but also the minimum of material desire is left unsatisfied. Noticing what happened in Hungary and Poland, no matter how sympathetic one is to Socialism, he has to admit that Marxism-Leninism, so far as it is practiced in the Soviet Union as well as by her allies, is one-hundred per cent a state Capitalism which, judging from the point of view of its inclusive interference and excessively rigid control, is not by any means better than any individual Capitalism which prevailed in the 19th century. We, after having heard the melancholy cry of the hungry workers in Eastern Europe together with the people's voice of murmur on the mainland of China, are strongly convinced that the so-called Marxism-Leninism is apparently breathing its last, if not a breathless body yet.

(4) *Revaluation of Life*

The greatest contrast between man and beasts is no doubt that the former has a sense of value, whereas the latter has none. An ape, for instance, possesses to some degree the same sort of intelligence as that of a human being; but it cannot be expected to have such understanding as to know what spiritual life is. In other words, the ape is not in a position to make a judgment between what is and what ought to be, in spite of the fact that it, like many other animals, is endowed with the faculty of learning and imitating. A man, irrespective of his educational background and birth, is not only in possession of the senses of responsibility and shame, but is aware of his own value and dignity which should be safeguarded at any price.

For the sake of heightening the spiritual value of man the Co-wealthists—recognizing the reality of truth, whose objective ex-

istence would never vanish even if it might sometimes be obscured more or less by man's ignorance and prejudice—are directly in opposition to nihilism. However, they are not either in favor of asceticism or in agreement with hedonism. In certain respects, the Co-wealthists are relatively in line with the Utilitarians, who advocated the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people"; though it does not by any means follow that the whole of Utilitarianism is, philosophically speaking, justifiable in every respect. Asceticism is not acceptable on the ground that extreme repression of desire is just as harmful as are debauchery and licentiousness.

Since pleasure, however desirable it may be, cannot be regarded as the chief or highest good, the Co-wealthists are not completely in concord with hedonism. Neither happiness nor pleasure, if based entirely upon individual interest, can hardly stand for the real value of life. Ethically, Co-wealthism is rather in consonance with public eudaemonism in the sense that happiness, being closely related to good, cannot at any rate be separated from the welfare of society. The real happiness is, in short, the manifestation of social well-being. Any activity, economic or political, might be detrimental to happiness were it performed in defiance of the community's public wishes. Individual happiness, as embodied in social welfare, can be best developed only in a prosperous society. Now that social welfare means literally the total sum of the happiness of individuals, every individual's effort in pursuit of his or her well-being is, as a matter of fact, contributing to the general good of society. If any person attempts to seek personal interest at the expense of others' welfare, he is doing something to his own disadvantage in the long run. Putting personal or class interest first and foremost leads eventually to the ruin of such person or class.

All Co-wealthists, who hold the spiritual value in great esteem, can never take any human being as a tool used in the interest of either one person or one class; nor can they support the specious dogma that the end justifies the means. No sin could be greater than the enslavement of others for self-aggrandizement. The true meaning as well as the true value of life lies in the pursuit of social freedom and social equality by means of legal, economic, and political reform. In a community devoid of freedom and equality there is no room whatsoever for human dignity, let alone happi-

ness. Man in such a community is nothing more than a dead machine or a worthless instrument.

Furthermore, the Co-wealthists, as adherents of truth, not only oppose Marx's economic materialism, but also disagree with his distortion of religion, which he likened to opium. What a great pity that Marx, despite his profound learning and social experience, failed to realize that religion, especially Christianity, had made tremendously great contributions to civilization in the past, and that it is still, if man wants to survive, indispensable into the infinite future. It is impossible to find a nation or race without religion. The will to believe, as William James points out, is almost as instinctive as are many other basic desires.

The reason man needs religion is simply that man, no matter how highly educated he may be or how intelligent he is, feels utterly ignorant and powerless in a universe so vast that the whole solar system, not to mention this little earth, is merely a grain of sand compared with the tremendously great space in which he lives and moves and has his being. It explains why religion is universal and indispensable. So long as man senses the insecurity in the world and feels the urgent need to satisfy his spiritual longing on the one hand, and to adjust himself to the unknown forces on the other, he is bound to have some sort of religious faith to fill the vacuum of life. The main functions of religion are to enrich and ennoble human life, to raise social standards, to promote social solidarity, and to give satisfactory answers to questions which cannot be answered through the medium of the limited knowledge of the sciences. The realm of the unknowable is far greater than that of the knowable, so far as scientific discoveries are concerned.

It is, therefore, no exaggeration to maintain that the idea that religion and science conflict is in fact an outmoded 19th-century notion which is discarded at all points nowadays. Today both scientists and religious leaders hold that not only is there no conflict between the two, but that they are in no small measure interdependent. Religion furnishes the moral basis for science, without which the latter would eventually lead man to self-destruction; and at the same time it is of course science that helps man to have a better understanding concerning the riddle of nature as well as of the value of life.

In view of the fact that organized religion has to some extent

become over-institutionalized and has consequently lost somehow or other its original objective, naturally it invites numerous criticisms and misunderstandings on the part of those who, being materialistically-minded, are devoid of religious experience. Fortunately, religion in countries like the United States, for example, is no longer institutionalized as before, on account of the drastic changes which have laid great stress on the spiritual side of religion rather than on ritual and dogma. Marx and his adherents' disgusting attitude toward religion may, it seems to me, be attributed to over-institutionalization on the one hand, and to the leaning of the churches of his day to the side of the Capitalists. At the same time, his materialistic outlook forced him to become an atheist. Should Marx have lived at the age of William James and have read his masterpiece, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, Marx's attitude toward religion might have been considerably different.

Notwithstanding that man cannot live without bread, obviously man by all means does not live for bread alone. Bread, as the means of maintaining existence, should in no sense be regarded as an end. We are, thereby, led to the conclusion that the problem of bread—an economic problem—is certainly of great significance, on the ground that it is closely connected with the survival of mankind at large. Nevertheless, it cannot be expected to solve the problem of the meaning and value of life, which is something more than, and different from, what is purely material. Life's revaluation and interpretation can be sought only in either religion or philosophy and aesthetics. With regard to the meaning of life, a few quotations from the writings of Chinese philosophers would probably suffice to convince us to a large extent.

"All things are within me." (Mencius) "The sage does not hoard. Having regarded everything as belonging to others, he has the more himself. The way of heaven brings profit but not harm. The way of the sage is to act but not to strive." (Lao Tzu) "No disaster is greater than not to know what is enough. No fault is greater than the desire to acquire. For to know that enough is enough is to have always enough." "The highest goodness is like water. The goodness of water consists in benefiting all things without ever striving." "Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination." (Lao Tzu) "Love all things equally, heaven and earth are one

body." (Hui Shih, a contemporary of Chuang Tzu) "Heaven and earth and I came into existence together, and all things with me are one." (Chuang Tzu)

All these sayings, regarded hitherto as the essence of Chinese moral philosophy, indicate that the ideal life is one that knows no distinction between "self" and "others"; that is to say, self and the universe are one that is inseparable. Accordingly, the individual life is a part, and simultaneously the whole, of the universe, in the sense that it is and should be as eternal as the universe; otherwise, life is meaningless out and out. Taking it by and large, it is plain that a man, in order to have an eternal life, should be so self-denying that he dedicates his whole life to the welfare of mankind, whose fate and that of his own are correlative.

The realization of the value of life is possible only when one fully understands the true meaning of life. In other words, the value of life can be manifested and fulfilled only in accordance with the example set up by Christ, who fulfilled his wonderful mission in such a way as is described in the book of the prophet Esaias: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised."¹³

Now the poor, the broken-hearted, the captives, and the bruised all the world over have long been anxiously waiting for deliverance. Whoever has the faith, the courage, the love, and the spirit of self-sacrifice to undertake such a gigantic task as Christ did can be said to have attained a sort of self-realization in which the meaning and value of life are fully manifested indeed. How many Socialists (including Communists) and Capitalists actually apprehend, not to say live up to, the dictum: "Production without possession, action without self-assertion, development without domination"? Moreover, how many of them are able to grasp the real connotation of the maxim: "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it; and whosoever shall lose his life shall preserve it"?¹⁴ If ordinary man feels that the ideal pictured above is

¹³Luke IV, 18.

¹⁴Luke XVII, 33.

beyond his power to attain, then he must, at least, agree with J. S. Mill, who holds that it is better to be an unsatisfied man than to be a satisfied swine. Can anybody possibly deny that under the Communist regime, based on Marxism-Leninism, the masses of people, because of the shortage of food and clothes, are not yet as satisfied as swine? And I am sure they would never be, even in the days to come.

(5) *The World Family and the World Government*

Two thousand and five hundred years ago Tzu-hsia, a disciple of Confucius, said: "All within the four seas are brothers."¹⁵ The same idea was expressed in the *Book of Rites*: "The sage regards the whole world as one family, and China as merely one person." This is of course the basic conception of Chinese Cosmopolitanism, which has long been the main current of Chinese political philosophy handed down from generation to generation. From as early as the age of Confucius down to modern thinkers such as Kang Yu-wei, Liang Chi-chao, Tang Su-tung and so on, all believed that Cosmopolitanism is unquestionably the key to world peace. By and large, it is not too much to say that, apart from the radical thinkers of Legalism, not a single Chinese philosopher, either among the Confucianists and Taoists or among the Mohists, has ever advocated ultra-nationalism and militarism. In other words, they all stand for peace, liberty, democracy, and the brotherhood of men. In this case the Chinese traditional culture resembles in no small degree the altruism of both Christianity and Buddhism.

In order to prevent another world catastrophe, both ultra-nationalism and militarism should on no account be tolerated any longer. The theory of absolute sovereignty, together with the notion of the absolute state, are the hotbed of Imperialism and aggression, and must be discarded. Who can possibly deny that the First and the Second World Wars owed their origin to German ultra-nationalism, of which both William II and Hitler were faithful adherents?

The causes of war and the rise of nationalism may be attributed partly to economic ambitions, such as the expansion of

world markets and the seizure of natural resources, and partly to territorial aggression, such as the expeditions of Jenghis Khan and Alexander the Great. Another cause of aggressive war may be due to the megalomania of the powers that be. The rulers, for the sake of satisfying their heroic desires for personal aggrandizement, carry on all sorts of aggressive schemes by means of brutal and bloody measures, regardless of what consequence may befall either their own people or those of neighboring countries. Historically, most of the ruthless tyrants and cruel conquerors were, from the standpoint of psycho-analysis, victims of insanity. It is, therefore, imperative, in order to maintain lasting world peace, that we re-educate the world's citizens by means of sound publicity and new goal of education with a view to creating a strong world public opinion to curb aggression and war. Only after the whole world has actually been imbued with the idea of "world family" and "universal fraternity" can the evil of ultra-nationalism be uprooted altogether. Accordingly, a world government—the only answer to the world's complicated problems—may be brought into being.

Undoubtedly, the existing structure of the United Nations is the prototype of a future world government whose formation would promptly be furthered, provided the Charter of the United Nations could be so revised as to set up a world legislature composed of representatives elected by various member nations. The idea of world-family should no longer be considered utopian, in view of the fact that the world in which we find ourselves is getting smaller and smaller as a result of closer international relationships and interdependence in consequence of swiftly improved air communication. Thus, such old political structures as are confined to a single nation or based upon the interest of one nation alone are no longer capable to meet requirements of mankind at a time when isolation, on account of internationalization of economic, political and cultural life, is anything but feasible.

July 20, 1969 is, in fact, the most striking epoch-making date in world history, because it is the day when three American astronauts—Neil A. Armstrong, Edward E. Aldrin and Michael Collins—succeeded in accomplishing man's first landing on the moon. The fact that "one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind" signals the beginning of a new era in which there should be no bloodthirsty war, no tribe-like ultra-nationalism, no dicta-

¹⁵Confucian *Analects*, Book XII.

torship, no hatred, no poverty, no racism, no terrorism, and no man-made disaster whatsoever.

After World War I, Woodrow Wilson warned his fellow countrymen by saying: "There is no absolute guarantee against human passion; but even if only ten per cent of a guarantee, would not you rather have a ten percent guarantee against war than none? If it only create a presumption that there will not be war, would you not rather have that presumption than live under the certainty that there will be war? For, I tell you, my fellow citizens, I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it."¹⁶

What Wilson predicted proved true in 1939 when World War II broke out because the nations of the world did not follow his warning. Who can guarantee today that we are able to prevent World War III, which would be no doubt a hundred times more horrible than was the last war, if the world government could not be set up quickly? The failure of the League of Nations, together with the incompetency of the United Nations, may be attributed largely to the fact that all member nations "dreamed different dreams in the same bed."¹⁷ As a result, the world organization has become a dead machine for lack of sincere cooperation on the part of its constituents. With a view to maintaining permanent peace W. Wilson, the then American President, took the initiative, immediately after World War I, to found the League of Nations. That such a noble ideal as was cherished by Wilson could not be appreciated by his own country is unthinkable as well as regrettable.

With the non-cooperation of the United States, along with the divergence of political views of the member states, how could the League of Nations work out the original ideal that Wilson and other farsighted men envisioned? What with the conflict of the Axis bloc and the Soviet Union on the one hand, and what with the controversy between the Communist regimes and the Western democracies on the other hand, the League of Nations had no other alternative but disintegration.

¹⁶Woodrow Wilson, *War and Peace: Presidential Messages, Addresses and Public Papers, 1917-1924*. (Harper & Brothers, 1927).

¹⁷Chinese proverb.

Prior to the conclusion of World War II, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin affirmed their determination, in the Teheran Conference in 1943, to create in the postwar world a family of democratic nations dedicated to ending tyranny, slavery, oppression, and aggression. In the wake of German surrender, the United Nations Charter was signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. Although the United Nations in the past twenty-five years has failed to avert international conflicts at all points, this world organization is at all events far more effective than the former global machine. Its success is of course due largely to the participation and substantial backing of the United States. With regard to its failure there are at least three causes worthy of notice. First, through the exercise of the veto the Soviet Union has time and again procured gains for herself and her satellites, so that many resolutions of significance to the General Assembly were thwarted. Secondly, the United Nations lacked a standing police force acting as the backbone of peaceful arbitration. Thirdly, because of the sharp contradiction of ideology among the member states, mutual mistrust and reviling far exceeded reciprocal confidence and understanding. Instead of having a common faith in a common cause, the member nations are divided into three camps: (1) The Anglo-American front stands for freedom and democracy. (2) The Communist bloc advocates dictatorship and world revolution. (3) The Afro-Asian bloc clamors for neutralism. In consequence of this schism the world organization was much handicapped in dealing with world problems as effectively as it anticipated.

Is it absolutely impossible for the people of various lands to cherish an identical faith in a certain principle standing for what is unanimously desired? And is there no likelihood at all to put into the effect the ideal of world government? The answer to the first question must be sought along the line of human nature. There are, as was referred to previously, two basic desires shared in common by all races, irrespective of color and nationality. Seeking for individual existence and for propagation of the species are the basic instincts which hitherto have played an important role in the world history and which, however high the cultural level may be, cannot be dispensed with at any rate. Apart from these two basic instincts, there is another principal one that may be termed the religious instinct, with which all people are endowed regardless

of racial or cultural differences. By a common belief in a common moral code such as "love one another," we are, therefore, led to believe that any ism aiming at the promotion of human welfare and at the realization of love would sooner or later be widely accepted by all.

Why is Communism, which is based on hatred, accepted by so many people? It is partly because many people, especially the inexperienced youths, were fooled by the Reds' false propaganda; and partly because those who are victims of misrule and tired of the status quo are prone to be attracted by such radical dogmas as pretend to be panaceas for all ills; and finally it is also due to the fact that those who become adherents of Communism are mentally unsound, that is, they are more or less affected with fanaticism. A fanatic is psychologically just as much a lunatic as those who suffer from kleptomania and homicidal mania and who never regard stealing and manslaughter as immoral or illegal. In like manner, certainly it is not unfair to say that Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao Tse-tung, who blindly believed in the justifiability of a resort to ruthless class war and dictatorship, were, from the standpoint of the psychiatrist, sufferers of fanaticism to a certain degree.

On the contrary, a man whose mentality is normal always has sound judgment and right understanding; at the same time, he will not follow the specious doctrine that cannot stand the test of unanimously recognized truth. Man, in order to strive for survival, would not hesitate to follow principles which offer assurance of man's security and happiness. Everybody has, according to Mencius, a propensity to what is good. Even an evil man possesses a sense of right, though his conscience may be eclipsed for some time when he is tempted to do wrong. Thus, Mencius says: "The feeling of commiseration belongs to all men; so does that of shame and dislike; and that of reverence and respect; and that of approving and disapproving."¹⁸

In order to apprehend the second question raised previously, we must first of all notice that the United Nations, so far as its Charter is concerned, is a good prototype of the world government. It goes without saying that the difference in language and cultural backgrounds, along with the divergence of political and

economic systems, would hinder the formation of such a global structure as the world government. Nevertheless, the difference of language, etc., poses no great stumbling-block to the materialization of a world family to such a large extent as the ordinary people imagine. Both the Soviet Union and India, in spite of differences in language and cultural background, achieved their unification as smoothly as other countries. English, as a matter of fact, has become a sort of international language in view of the fact that with the improvement of communication the number of English-speaking people is increasing day by day.

The real hindrance to the implementation of the world government lies in ultra-nationalism and narrow patriotism rather than the distinction of race or language. The strongest argument against nationalism appeared in Bertrand Russell's book, *The Prospect of Industrial Civilization*, should be taken as a good warning. Russell asserts: "Modern nations are highwaymen, saying to each other 'your money or your life,' and generally taking both."¹⁹ It is actually very hard to prevail on people to discard the age-long doctrine of absolute sovereignty at a time when national fanaticism approaches the climax. So long as ultra-nationalism is in vogue, the proposal of forming a world government seems unrealistic. However, nationalism, being a sort of ideology, is subject to change. No ideology is unchangeable and no ideology can resist the overwhelming power of world opinion. It is world opinion that has made the world what it is today and will change it in accordance with what world opinion favors.

Furthermore, world opinion is the outcome of continuous publicity of one or several farsighted thinkers' voice. I have made it clear more than once in these pages that every institution owes its origin to a certain thinker or a group of thinkers whose thought not only paved the way for, but actually represented, the very nature of what was hitherto implemented in the history of civilization. Communism is, for instance, one case in point. Obviously, the best way to convince the people that ultra-nationalism is anachronistic hinges upon the reformation of education. All communication tools such as the press, television, radio, etc., must be utilized to the best advantage to stress the necessity of bringing

¹⁸*The Works of Mencius*, Book VI, Part 1.

¹⁹Bertrand and Dora Russell, *The Prospect of Industrial Civilization*, p. 193.

about world government. With unceasingly worldwide publicity, peoples of various lands will no doubt be convinced and take action in hastening the materialization of the long-due world structure. On the establishment of the world government depends the possibility of solving world problems such as population, pollution, disarmament, poverty, disease, war and other international disputes.

Albert Guerard in his article, "The Reality of World Government,"²⁰ points out that the working-out of world order is not an easy task. It will not happen unconsciously, automatically, or organically, as according to the lazy, fatalistic philosophy of the 19th century. What the world order imperatively needs is not merely an aspiration, but an act of faith and will. Meanwhile, I feel that the reader will surely be deeply impressed with the arguments of Cord Meyer, who maintains that the United Nations, as presently constituted, will not lead to world government. Owing to the inability of the United Nations to prohibit war, control the means of making war, limit or regulate national armies, and levy taxes to provide for the realization of those ends, it is imperative that we take action right now to transform the United Nations into a world government. Although it may take a long time to make the world organization function effectively, we should on no account be discouraged.

China, in the periods of both Chun Chiu (Spring and Autumn) and Chan Kuo (Fighting States), was politically in the same chaotic situation as is modern Europe; all states strove with one another for supremacy. It was, however, during this period of unrest that China produced the "Hundred Schools of Philosophers" whose doctrine, especially Confucianism, Mohism, and Taoism, became the cornerstone of Chinese civilization, which influenced immeasurably the culture of her neighboring countries such as Japan, Korea, Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and other South-eastern Asian countries. As peace and universal love were preached unanimously by Confucius, Mo Tzu, Lao Tzu, etc., China, since the unification of the First Emperor of Chin (Chin Shih Huang) in 221 B.C., has enjoyed up until the present day a united national life for 1,754 years; though she experienced four periods of disunion: those of the Three Kingdoms, South and North Dynasties,

²⁰*The Nation*, April 20, 1946.

Five Dynasties, and the disunion of the Sung Dynasty—totaling 415 years.

Let us bear in mind that, prior to the unification of Chin, the Chinese language was not unitary; for each state in those days had its own language. It was not until the unification of Chin that the various languages were standardized as unique. China, composed of different peoples such as Chinese, Manchurians, Mongols, Moslems, Tibetans, etc., could by no means have been united but for her traditional culture of peace and love preached by the classical philosophers.

Let us emancipate ourselves from the tyranny of dogmatism and localism so as to further the progress of civilization, to build up a world-family which is harmonious and prosperous, and to bring about a co-wealthy life throughout the whole world by dint of a world government. Finally, let us elevate the dignity and spiritual value of man by virtue of Co-wealthism to such a degree that hereafter no man will be enslaved economically and politically by any unsound institution or fallacious ideology.

In order to free ourselves from ideological contradictions which would lead us to despair if not dealt with properly, we must remember that the mission of Co-wealthism aims at re-adjusting the conflict between individualism and collectivism on the one hand, and at harmonizing antagonism between nationalism and internationalism on the other. Both individualism and collectivism are no longer acceptable, on the grounds that the former, characterized by its excessive propensity to laissez-faire policy, would result in chaos and anarchism, were it not checked or modified; while the latter, as being noted for its extreme interference and rigid control, would most certainly lead to despotism.

The most idealistic body-politic, according to the Co-wealthists, cannot be anything other than what ensures individual freedom to the extent that would never indulge in the specious doctrine of laissez-faire, and uses regulation and economic planning to the extent that would by any means savor the nature of totalitarianism. Genuine nationalism, in so far as it is non-aggressive, is, in the eyes of Co-wealthists, as justifiable as internationalism, in the sense that the prosperity of one nation means exactly the welfare of the other. Viscount Samuel is right when he says: "To raise the standard of civilization in one's own country helps the well-being of the world; and the greater the well-being of the world, the

better for one's own country. International morality consists neither in a complete sacrifice of national interest for the sake of international, nor in the ignoring of international interest for the sake of national, but the right balance between them. Patriotism ranks as a virtue when, and only when, it conforms to this fundamental rule."²¹

In short, the philosophical basis of Co-wealthism may be summarized as the following: The world crisis confronting us today owes its origin to fallacious ideology. As erroneous thought breeds disaster for mankind, so will sound thought bring forth happiness to the world. That any doctrine that calls only for one side of life, either the material or the spiritual side alone, cannot satisfy human desires is undeniable. Judging from the standpoint of human nature, we cannot but agree with the poet-philosopher Schiller's aphorism that hunger and love makes the world go round. Obviously, hunger represents those instincts which aim at preservation of the individual, while love stands for the instinct to preserve the species. Marxism-Leninism, together with other types of Socialism, have failed to bring about peace and happiness for humanity. It is the solemn mission of the Co-wealthists to create a new era for man in order that world civilization will not be ruined by a global nuclear war.

Moreover, Co-wealthism, being the outcome of historical development as well as of the imperative demand of a new age, should on no account be regarded as utopia, because it, unlike other utopian isms, is based on practical and workable programs. The tragedy of today is that our social science has lagged behind natural science. Accordingly, we have secured tremendous power to conquer nature in many ways; yet we are unable to conquer ourselves. We have succeeded in moon-landings, but we are powerless to solve most of the urgent problems on earth. Since world peace and human happiness rely partly on the power over nature and partly on readjustment of human relations, we must, therefore, recognize that the only channel through which our common ideal can be materialized is world government.

²¹Viscount Samuel, *Practical Ethics*, 1945, pp. 178-179.

Chapter V

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CO-WEALTHISM

(1) *The World Movement and the World Organization*

No movement, especially that which is relevant to economic reform and which concerns the promotion of human welfare, can possibly be brought about fruitfully by one single country. Because of the close interdependence of nations, the vicissitude of one country is apparently related to that of another. Isolationism, on account of the unprecedented development of land, sea, and air communication today, becomes entirely obsolete. The United States, for instance, is beyond doubt the country that, in the present world, enjoys far more natural resources and far greater potentiality of production than other countries. Yet she cannot exist in isolation, not only because her military bases have to be built on the territory of other countries, but also because her economic life owes its prosperity to her international trade.

The U.S. merchandise exported in 1968 was valued at \$34,227,000,000. Merchandise imported totaled \$33,088,000. The principal U.S. imports in 1968, ranked according to value, were: coffee, non-ferrous metals, newsprint, cane sugar, crude rubber, raw wool, crude petroleum, wood pulp, fruits, edible nuts and vegetables, cocoa beans, fishery products, etc.¹

In 1968, 35 percent of U.S. exports went to European countries (including the United Kingdom), 25 percent to the other

¹"Facts about the United States," pp. 44-45 (published by U.S.I.S.).

American republics, 15 percent to the Far Eastern countries, 15 percent to Canada, and nearly 10 percent to Africa and the Near East.²

U.S. exports in 1968 constituted about one-fourth of all world exports. Imports constituted about one-eighth of all world imports. Great Britain is, however, more dependent upon international trade than any other country. Nearly 70 percent of her provisions were imported; and at the same time, she relies on international trade for her raw materials as well as for selling her finished goods. The economic problem is, therefore, an international concern in every respect. Co-wealthism, aiming at the common welfare of the whole world, can hardly be worked out short of an international movement. Undoubtedly, its final success relies upon the cooperation of all countries concerned.

As soon as the thinking men of various nations are thoroughly aware of the fact that Co-wealthism is the most effective remedy for the world crisis, they should take initiative to set up a world organization with a view to planning concrete projects for its implementation. Meanwhile, Co-wealthists in various lands who are interested in the well-being of their fellow countrymen should in like manner form Co-wealthists groups with the purpose of furthering the development of their national economy so as to better the livelihood of the people. Both the world and the national organization of the Co-wealthists should take into consideration such urgent problems as the insurance of a lasting world peace, the promotion of international trade, the coordination of distribution and consumption, the augmentation and exploitation of wealth, the utilization of atomic energy for the increase of production and other peaceful purposes, and finally the elevation of man's spiritual value and personal dignity.

In short, no sensible man, Oriental or Occidental, should take Co-wealthism for a panacea to cure all national and international ills without man's effort; nor should he regard it as an unworkable utopia. Instead he should, if he is really public-spirited and concerned about the destiny of mankind, do his best to take part in the task of building up a new world order so as to wipe out the disease, poverty, and ignorance—three common enemies of humanity—from future human history.

Op. cit.

(2) *The Problem of Land and Population*

The existence of man depends upon four essential requirements: clothes, food, shelter, and communication. The securing of them depends, in turn, upon another four prerequisites of productivity: 1) land, 2) labor, 3) capital, and 4) technology. The land, from the point of view of production, is no doubt relatively more important than the other three. The land is so indispensable for maintaining human existence that every nation, as well as every individual, owes its very existence to the possession of it. As was true in the age of nomadic tribes and pure agricultural countries, so it is true in modern industrial society. The land in a modern industrialized nation seems, however, probably not so significant as in an agricultural country; yet it is not so. When we make a general survey with regard to the potentiality of natural resources, we can by no means underrate the necessity of land in our own time. For instance, the most needed natural resources in any industrialized country—such as coal, petrol, cotton, wool, copper, iron, lead, rubber, tin, antimony, uranium, etc.—are all products of the land. Whichever nation or individual is in possession of the largest amount of useful land is the richest one of the whole world.

Since most of the earth is covered with water, ice and desert, both the arable and inhabitable lands, or the lands that have economic value, are very limited indeed. The size of useful land remains more or less the same, whereas the population is steadily increasing from time to time. According to the study of Julian Huxley, in the old days, for instance at the time of 8,000 B.C., the world population figured approximately ten million. It had doubled by 5,000 B.C. It totalled about 200 million in the fourth century; it amounted to 540,000,000 in 1650; and in 1950 it was estimated to be at 2,200,000,000.³

Thomas R. Malthus was probably the first scholar who told us that population, when unchecked, goes on doubling itself every 25 years, or increases in a geometrical ratio; and that the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio. That is to say, the human species would increase

³Julian Huxley, "Population and Human Destiny," *World Review*, January, 1950.

as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries, according to Malthus, the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4096 to 13. The constant increase of population would, however, be checked from time to time by famine, pestilence, war, etc.⁴

The world is at present threatened by an overwhelming growth of population. The threat coming from Latin America and Asia unquestionably is the most critical. Robert Cook, Director of the Population Reference Bureau, said on May 20, 1956 that world population, as indicated in the reports of the United Nations, would increase by 40,000,000 in 1957; the current rate of increase—1.5 percent a year—would double the world population in about 55 years.⁵

The main reason for the alarmingly-rapid population growth in some countries today is not any general increase in birth rate but the declining death rate, resulting from the ever-wider use of new medicines and new public health techniques.

As a matter of fact, most economically underdeveloped countries have high birth and death rates. Where death rates are lowered and birth rates remain about the same, population growth rates increase alarmingly. Robert Cook also pointed out that the combination of high birth rates and falling death rates could cause an even more dramatic population explosion in Asian countries, due to modern health methods. This is happening in a few areas, notably Ceylon, which combines an Asian birth rate and a Western death rate.⁶

The population of China in 1957 was estimated at 580,000,000. It increases 25,000 per day, and most likely it will amount to 1,000,000,000 if not drastically checked by birth control. Japan has, however, seen the most rapid drop in the birth rate ever recorded in any country: from 34.3 (births per thousand people) in 1947 to 19.4 in 1955. This is five points below the 1955 rate in the United States, which was 24.6. Although this is the first time an Asian nation has had a birth rate below 20, Japan's population will continue to increase. Minoru Tachi, noted Japanese demographer, estimated that even if the current birth rate were cut

in half, Japanese population would reach a high point of 108,000,000 by 1990.

According to the Indian government's estimation made on September 30, 1957, India's population is growing at a rate of about five million a year. The 1969 census figure indicated that India's population totalled 536,900,000. The birth rate in the Indian Union rose from 24.9 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1951 to 30.5 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1955. In the same period, the death rate decreased from 14.4 to 12.7 per 1,000 inhabitants. Statistics also showed that Indians were living longer, owing to the progress made in the public health services.

The population growth in Europe presents a different picture. There both birth and death rates are low, and more nearly in balance. In fact, population of some countries is near a point of actual decline. Europe had its population increase in the last century. There is no danger of an explosion there such as that now taking place in Latin America, and threatening in Asia. To assure the world an adequate diet in the face of increasing population, it would be necessary to have 150 square miles of new farm land put under cultivation daily. This, as calculated, would give a total of three-quarters of an acre of land per person born each day.

We are aware of the fact that there are no large areas of virgin farmland anywhere on earth today and that land scarcity is more severe where population is greatest. Meanwhile, Malthus' statement that the increase of food cannot keep pace with the rapid growth of population still holds good. No doubt, with the development of the underdeveloped areas, exploitation of the wastelands by new technology, utilization of marine products, and the drastic change in productive methods brought about by atomic energy, the possibility of augmenting world foodstuffs is considerably greater. Concrete measures for the augmentation of the world's wealth will be dealt with in detail in another chapter.

Now, what I want to call the attention of the public to is this: despite all the new projects mentioned above concerning the increase of food, the threat of rapidly-growing population will certainly be increased day by day if birth control is not universally practiced in various countries.

Unfortunately, many a man, owing to religious and conventional prejudices, fails to see the imperative needs of enforcing birth control. It is misinterpreted as immoral and inhuman. The Catholics and those who are not yet free from the bondage of

⁴T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1878.

⁵Quoted from the *Hongkong Standard*, May 21, 1957.

⁶Quoted from the *Hongkong Standard*, May 21, 1957.

conventionalism should take into account the fact that, in the first place, the most immoral and inhuman thing is to let numerous people, for lack of both food and education, become victims of starvation and delinquency; in the second place, national prosperity together with cultural progress depends upon the quality, not quantity, of population. To check the alarmingly-rapid growth of population is morally justifiable as well as economically indispensable. It is, therefore, the duty of both the governments and the civil groups in every land to do what they can along the line of publicity, and in setting up as many clinics as family planning centers as possible. Besides this, a worldwide campaign for the effective enforcement of birth control should be carried out by the United Nations.

The governments of different countries should, if there is no other alternative, adopt B. Russell's advice that no family should have more than three children without incurring penalty.⁷

The problem of food shortage in the Communist bloc is far more critical than in the democracies. This is in view of the fact that agricultural production per capita has been decreased for lack of incentive on the part of the peasants, who are, as a whole, dissatisfied with the irrational collectivization and communization of the Communist regime. The Communist type of agrarian reform cannot but result in bankruptcy of the rural economy. The most effective way of strengthening agricultural productivity lies in the encouragement of the farmer's incentive. The best way of cultivating incentive relies, in turn, upon the ownership of land by the farmers.

The small farm system of the United States—farms belong to the farmers themselves—and the peaceful agrarian reform practiced in Japan and Taiwan, have been very successful from the point of view of production. What influences productivity mostly is new technology rather than the number of rural population.⁸ In Asia, for instance, three or four out of every five workers work on the land and produce only a meager per capita supply of food and fiber. On the other hand, the people in the United States are much better fed and clothed, with only about one worker in

⁷B. Russell, *New Hopes for a Changing World*.

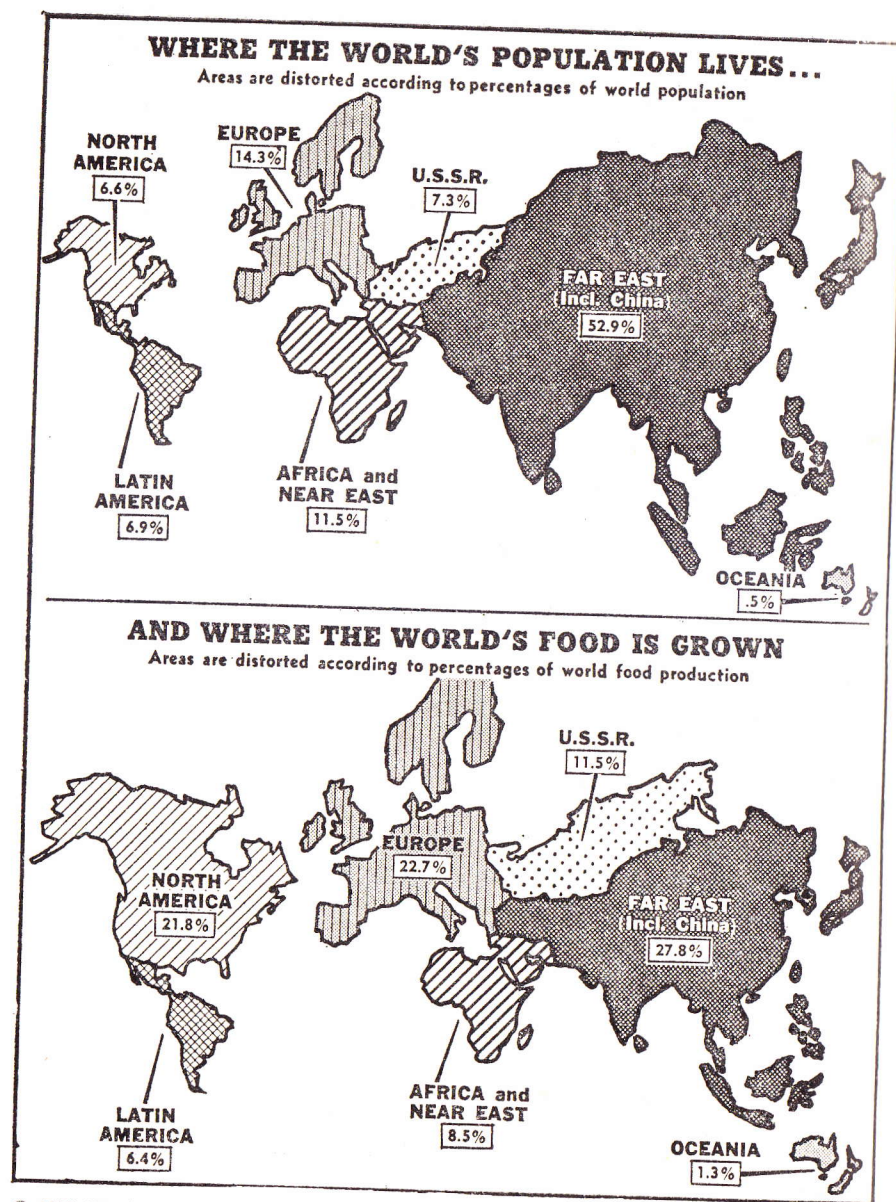
⁸Cf. Harold Cox, *Problem of Population*.

every eight working on farms. The United States, with its high agricultural and industrial mechanization, produces approximately one-half of the world's production. Indeed, the Asian countries would unquestionably be more prosperous if they had half as many people as they have now.⁹

The population growth in Asia and Latin America is more rapid than in both North America and Europe. Meanwhile, the world food growth in Asia, Latin America, and Africa lags behind North America and Europe. Population in Asia including Communist China amounts to 52.9 percent of the world population; whereas the food growth is only 27.8 percent of the world output. Africa's and the Near East's population amounts to 11.5 percent of the world total while their food growth is only 8.5 percent of the world food production. North America, with 6.6 percent of the world population, produces 21.8 percent of the world's food. By the same token, Europe, with 14.3 percent of world population, yields 22.7 percent of the world's food. Food production in Latin America also falls behind its population growth, with 6.9 percent of the world food population yielding 6.4 percent of the world's food.

A man who weighs 125 pounds and engages in moderate work requires approximately 2600 calories per day. A man weighing 165 pounds and engaged in moderate work needs about 3300 calories per day. Unfortunately, half of the world population is undernourished. Per capita caloric intakes in all of Central America, most of Asia and part of South America are less than 2250 calories per day. Out of the total world land area of 36 billion acres, the total world cereal acreage amounts to only 1,200 million acres. Seventy percent of the earth's surface is covered with water. According to Harrison Brown's estimate, about 10 percent of the world's 36 billion acres of land area is covered with perpetual snow and ice, and another 4 percent is situated in such high latitudes that the only growth is tundra vegetation. One half of the land of the world is excluded from farming on account of severe coldness or dryness. Harrison Brown points out that out of half of the world's land, only 15 percent is cultivated; an area amounting to between 2.5 and 3 billion acres.

⁹Cr. F. W. Notestein, "Population," *Scientific American*, Vol. 185, No. 3, Sept. 1951.



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In order to feed the new mouths steadily increasing in every country, increased food production is imperative; and it requires close cooperation of the world's statesmen and scientists. This crucial problem will be dealt with later.

(3) *The Distribution of Wealth*

Any community with a majority of undernourished constituents is bound to be afflicted with evil and distress. The gap, no matter how wealthy a country may be, between the poor and the rich would be tremendously wide were the distribution of wealth unequal. No sensitive man can justifiably declare that the state of the people of the world is ideal, in spite of the wonderful progress of science and technology. The unfortunate economic plight confronting us today is that the people in the economically underdeveloped countries are troubled by the scarcity of industrial goods resulting from under-production, while the people in the highly industrialized countries are also unhappy on account of overproduction.

The distribution in the underproductive areas is as much unequal as in the overproductive countries. Accordingly, economic reform, especially in the underdeveloped countries, is urgently needed at present. One-fourth of the families in the United States have annual incomes which are not more, and may be even less, than \$2,000. Twenty-five and a quarter of a million people in the U.S. were classified as "poor" in August 1969. Even in the relatively wealthy European countries, about one-fourth of the people are not well-fed and well-clothed, not to mention the plight of the Afro-Asian area.

As one-half of the world's population is undernourished, it is, of course, imperative that greater attention should be paid to the augmentation of production in these underproductive nations; whereas the overproductive countries must resort to such economic policies as would check the plight of underconsumption. Sixty years ago, L. Walras stressed that production must be made as abundant as possible, and that social wealth must also be distributed as equally as we can.¹⁰ It is estimated that in 1900 ten percent of the American people owned 90 percent of the nation's wealth; what a wide gap between the rich and poor!

¹⁰L. Walras, *Etudes d' Economie Sociale*, 1906.

The ideal of equal distribution has hitherto enjoyed wide approval everywhere. What concerns us most is, however, the concrete measures of enforcement. This problem—a problem of economic system—has not until now been satisfactorily solved in either the Communist bloc or the Western democracies. While distribution under the regime of free enterprise has so far not attained the level of equality, in the Communist countries this issue is getting more serious instead of being solved. It is known to the whole world that, in the Communist regime, under the comprehensive nationalization and the planned economy, not only has the government been turned into the great and almighty capitalist; but also that the party cadres, as well as the high-ranking officials, civil and military, have become the economically privileged class whose oppression and exploitation of the masses of people is in fact far more unbearable than that of the old capitalists.

I am sure the whole world, especially the leftists, cannot but be surprised that the equality of distribution, an ideal cherished all the time by all Socialists, is still something in the air in the Communist bloc. The Soviet Union, for instance, has undergone fifty-six years of ruthless struggle with a view to materializing Socialism; yet it resulted merely in the rising of a new aristocracy composed of technicians, managers, party cadres, and officials, who live luxuriously at the expense of the people. No wonder the people living in the Communist countries, especially in Red China, have been so miserable, as they are on the brink of starvation.

Prior to the Communist rule, the Chinese living standard was indeed low. But the Chinese people have never, historically speaking, experienced such a miserable life as they are living today under the tyranny of Mao. The outcome of practicing Communism is, as I have mentioned previously, that the rich become poor, the poor poorer. The reason the Communists, who advocated the equality of distribution, failed to put their ideal into effect is twofold. In the first place, industrially, China is a backward country. The whole country is constantly threatened by poverty as a result of underproduction. It is, therefore, not possible to solve the problem of people's livelihood through the channel of equalizing distribution. In the second place, because of the scarcity of arable land, every man, according to equal distribution of land, could get only about one *mou* or less than one *mou* (6.6 *mou*

equals one acre). With such a small piece of land and a terribly heavy tax burden, the masses of people can never be expected to enjoy a decent life.

With regard to the distribution problem, Colin Clark's remarks are worthy of notice. He clearly points out that, if the incomes of the rich were now divided up among the poor in Great Britain, the position of the latter would not be very much improved.¹¹ The average income of the British is much higher than that of the Chinese. If the equal distribution of the incomes of the British rich could not benefit the poor, how could the Chinese poor be benefited by dividing the income of the Chinese rich among them? According to Pareto, a noted Italian economist, the diminution of inequalities in the distribution of individual incomes can come about only when the average incomes are relatively high. His view is proved true in the United States, where the average income is relatively higher than in Great Britain. The distribution of individual incomes in the United States is not so unequal as it is in other big industrial countries.¹²

While realizing the infeasibility of equalizing the income in economically backward countries, we do not, however, suggest that equal distribution, being sound in principle, should not be encouraged. It is known to all that what the Soviet Union and the Communist Chinese have done concerning the people's property was arbitrary confiscation. Let us not be led astray by the paradox that private property, if we favor the principle of equal distribution, should by all means be abolished.

The right to enjoy some private property finds its justification neither in the "occupation theory" nor in the "labor theory." At the same time, both the doctrines of natural rights and of legal recognition are also insufficient reasons for justifying the existence of private property. What gives an indefeasible title to private property is, however, the theory of "social utility." Our society would inevitably result in total disorganization in the name of collectivization or communization.

The most interesting and logical argument for vindicating private property is what appeared in the writing of Aristotle. He said: "How immeasurably greater is the pleasure, when a

¹¹Cf. Colin Clark, *National Income and Outlay*, 1937, p. 94.

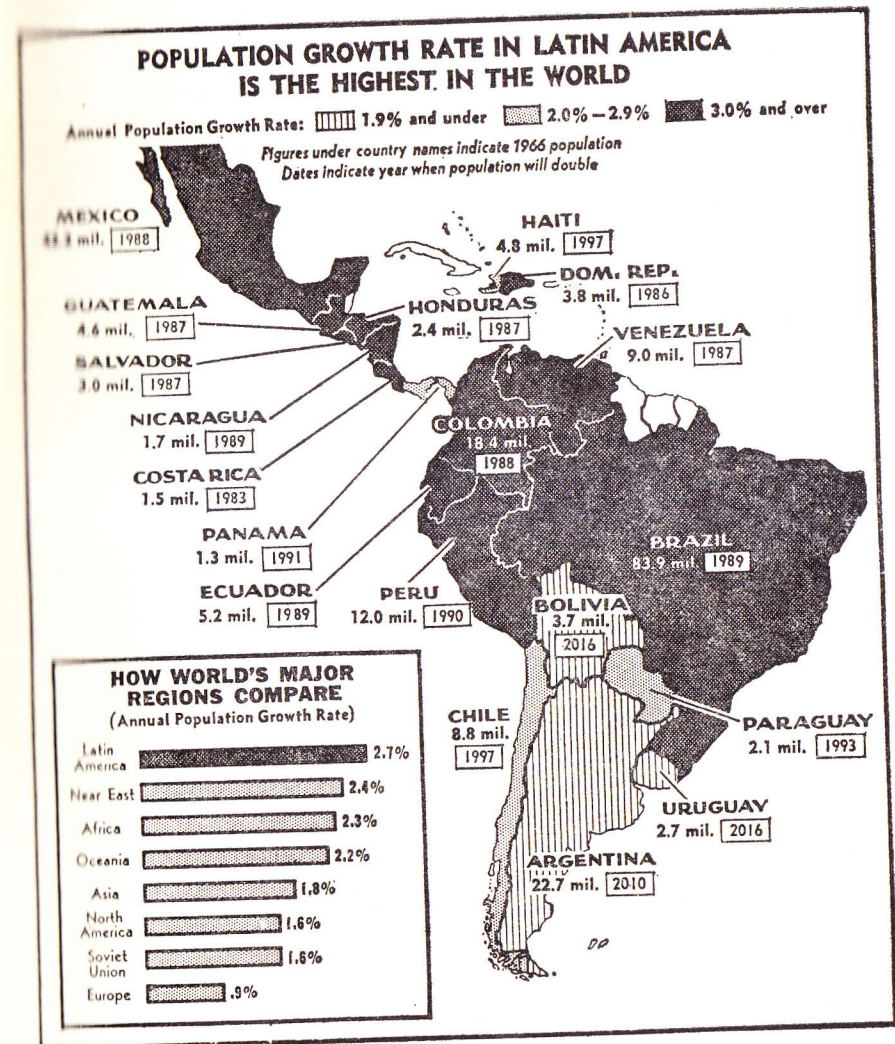
¹²C. Bresciani-Turroni, *Economic Policy for the Thinking Man*, 1950, p. 281.

man feels a thing to be his own; for the love of self is a feeling implanted by nature and not given in vain, although selfishness is rightly censured. . . . And further, there is the greatest pleasure in doing a kindness or service to friends or guests or companions, which can only be rendered when a man has private property. The advantage is lost by the excessive unification of the state."¹³

Obviously it is futile to talk about equal distribution in a country where the people's income is terribly low and the national productivity considerably weak. There will be no doubt that the plight of poverty would be greatly aggravated if equalization of distribution were enforced arbitrarily in a state whose average income is low. The American economist, John S. Gambs, in his *Man, Money and Goods*, asserts that all will become paupers if we divide the property equally among ourselves. What happened in Communist countries during the past few decades suffices to convince us that the failure of Communism and Socialism may be attributed partly to political plunder and partly to economic mismanagement. The policy of equalization of distribution, however nice it sounds theoretically, may be likened to a blind alley when it is put into practice prior to the augmentation of social wealth by means of mechanized mass production. Formerly, the Communists failed to see the significance of this point. Consequently, they have to reap the poor fruits of their actions at present.

The problem of distribution of wealth is not merely the subject matter of economics. It is a burning question hitherto hotly debated and seriously studied by philosophers, social reformers, sociologists, educators, and religious leaders. It is not only a question of what "ought to be," but also a question of "what is" and "what is to be done." Just as the Communists failed to find a satisfactory solution for this problem, so did the Capitalists. The present-day inequalities in distribution, like many other economic ills, can neither be cured by state ownership of productive means, as under the Communist regime; nor remedied by the capitalist system, as was attempted in the 19th century. As a matter of fact, speculation and rentierism, with all their abuses, can be a cancer on the body of private Capitalism. Indeed, the present-day inequalities in the Communist countries are by no means less than

¹³Aristotle, *Politics*, Book II, Ch. V.



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those in the so-called Capitalistic states. Apparently, solution of this economic ill can be sought neither in Communism nor in Capitalism, but in Co-wealthism, since the Co-wealthists put social welfare before private property. It is imperative that we regard equal distribution as basically the economic goal of the nation, and it can and should be attained somehow or other in the days to come.

In order to redistribute income more equally and to make the socialization of wealth a reality, the Co-wealthists favor progressive taxes together with various measures of social insurance and public services. At the same time, Co-wealthists favor such policies as were advocated by John M. Keynes to keep interest rates low with a view to stimulating investments and discouraging the growth of a rich rentier class living on ownership of securities, who regard inequality as one of the consequences of progress. Keynes find no justification at all for inequalities.¹⁴

(4) *The Coordination of Production and Consumption*

The capacity and quantity of production must be in direct proportion to the demand of consumers. When production exceeds consumption, it naturally gives rise to overproduction. In the train of overproduction follow the fall of prices, a dull market, shrinkage of investment, and unemployment. The main cause of depression and business cycles can always be ascribed more or less to the lack of coordination between production and consumption. This man-made economic ill results from the fact that the producer has an eye only to mass production, without taking into account the potentiality of consumption, and the real situation of the market. Both overproduction and underproduction are detrimental to the national economy. Prosperity, which is closely related to full employment, can be achieved only through the coordination of production and consumption. On the contrary, what we call a business cycle is the outcome of a discordancy between the two functions, productive and consumptive.

Depression is the most critical phase of a business cycle, because it involves tremendous waste of human resources in un-

¹⁴J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money*, p. 373.

employment, suspends economic growth, and inflicts injustice upon debtors. In the severe depression of the early 1930's, for instance, the American national income was halved; a great section of agriculture was ruined; and industrial prices collapsed. The fall amounted to 70-80 percent in the capital goods industries, and 10-15 percent in the consumer goods industries. The closing of the banks, and the consequent stoppage of the normal means of making payments, on March 4, 1933, was only the culmination of a series of blows dealt to the people of the United States. This horrible situation might have continued for a longer period but for the New Deal of Roosevelt.¹⁵

The measure for preventing economic crisis consists of two programs: one is derived from Keynes' suggestion; the other is based upon the "planned economy." Each has its merits and demerits. According to Keynes, the causes of depression are underconsumption, shrinkage of investments, and reduction of exports. What Keynes thought to be effective remedies were: 1) to encourage investments so as to stimulate consumption, 2) to expand government spending by way of initiating public works, and 3) to increase exports.

Keynes' policy, though nobody questions its soundness, can hardly be worked out without being handicapped by various factors. During the period of depression it would be pretty hard to absorb a great deal of investments. Meanwhile, there is very little possibility to add new equipment to the factories; and no new works, except those initiated by the government, could possibly be built. The prospect of increasing export would be everything but feasible, unless the demand from the overseas market were enhanced to a large extent. Furthermore, public works such as the T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority) cannot be expanded on a large scale without resorting to considerably great government spending, which leads in turn to inflation.

It is known to all that during inflation the general level of prices continues to rise, and the purchasing power of the currency deteriorates. The rise in general prices goes hand in hand with the increase of wages and salaries. At the same time, the increase of wages and salaries pushes up prices further; in other words, it is impossible for wages to chase prices. The further rise of prices

¹⁵S. H. Bailey, *Mr. Roosevelt's Experiment*, 1935.

results in further increase of wages and salaries, and so on ad infinitum. In order to avoid the spiral of inflation, such measures should be taken as to reduce non-defense governmental spending together with the encouragement of voluntary savings.

As the Keynesian economic measures cannot be used all the time as a panacea, neither can the planned economy. Although we admit that planning is indispensable in economy as well as in other fields, we must be aware of its merits and demerits. Hitherto, there have been two divergent opinions among the economists. Those who are not in favor of the planned economy hold that it breeds horrible tyranny and bureaucracy on the part of the ruling class. One of the most noted opponents is Friedrich A. Hayek, who is of the opinion that the inevitably evil consequence of enforcing a rigid planned economy is an invitation to Totalitarianism. The masses of people will be oppressed by secret police, and most of them will be enslaved in the concentration camps. Finally, the whole society will be lawless, chaotic, and disorganized in every respect.¹⁶

Another opponent of the planned economy is C. Presciani-Turroni, who says, "The bureaucratic apparatus of economic planning steadily becomes larger and more complicated. Departments have to be set up to grant export and import licences, to control distribution of foreign exchange, to allot raw materials amongst the various branches of industry, to fix wages and commodity prices, to investigate the production costs of the individual undertakings, to distribute labor power amongst them, to issue food cards, clothing, etc. . . . In this way, price control, which was first introduced in Germany for agriculture, was gradually extended to many other economic spheres so that by the year 1937 three-quarters of the volume of commodities sold were subject to price control. In 1935 these controls were exercised by 49 departments, to which were attached 19 committees of the agricultural association and 27 further departments for the control of foreign trade. By the same year 700 price-control regulations had already been issued—later on their number increased considerably."¹⁷

¹⁶Cf. F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, 1944.

¹⁷C. Presciani-Turroni, *Economic Theory for the Thinking Man*, 1950, pp. 135-136.

The practice of planned economy in Communist China brought forth such horrible consequences as the dislocation of demand and supply, the deteriorating quality of manufactured goods, deficiency in the allocation of raw materials, the multiplication and overlap of various offices, the prevalence of bureaucracy, aggravation of poverty, bankruptcy of the rural economy, and unanimous discontent on the part of both producers and consumers. The economic crisis, which was aggravated during the so-called Cultural Revolution, has been partly averted as a result of resorting to moderate measures. The bitter experience and failure in the past two decades offers a good lesson to those who are either Socialists or advocates of overall planned economy.

As early as 1937 Prof. Eulenburg, who made a thorough investigation regarding planned economy in Germany, asserted: "The automatic mechanism of the market works far more reliably and accurately than economic planning. The great economic and demographic progress achieved in the 19th century was obtained thanks to the prevalence of economic liberty; economic planning must provide the difficult proof that it is in a position to achieve the same results."¹⁸

While realizing the significance and necessity of free enterprise, we are not blind to the evils which have resulted, under free economy, from blind competition. Planless mass production coupled with planless distribution and consumption naturally lead to unemployment, recession, inflation and social unrest. Obviously, free enterprise needs some sort of plan and government intervention in order to achieve equalization and equilibrium; though we are perfectly aware of such evil consequences as are brought about by planned economy.

In the *Kuan-tzu*, written by an ancient Chinese economist in the period of the Fighting States (481-221 B.C.), we find that even in the old days—two thousand years ago—Chinese economists advocated such economic theories as government ownership of key industry, government control of currency and price, and government restriction in relation to distribution and consumption. Nevertheless, the sort of economic planning illustrated in the *Kuan Tzu* differs in no small measure from the planned economy of the modern Communist regime. The former, unlike the latter,

¹⁸Cf. Eulenburg, *Volkswirtschaftspolitik*, 1937, p. 147.

never insisted on overall and complete government controls such as are practiced in the Communist countries. The author of the *Kuan-tzu*, however much in favor of planned economy, not only respects individual freedom but also realizes the indispensability of free economy in the sense that what belongs to the category of government control is confined to basic industry and commerce, and a large proportion of production and consumption is free from government control.

Furthermore, the quantity theory of money—that the value of money is inversely proportional to the quantity of money—has long been plainly expounded by the author of *Kuan-tzu*, who understands that the value of money falls as its quantity increases, and vice versa. The quantity of money is also relevant to the general price level. Accordingly, government control is, from the point of view of social welfare, of necessity in every respect.

“Knife money and coins are kept in the hands of the government, with the object of controlling the changing prices of commodities. The aim or direction of control depend upon the prices. If money is heavy (dear), then all commodities seem light (cheap); if money is light, then all commodities are heavy. In the case of grain, the high or low price may be controlled by the sovereign; he may spend money or gold to achieve stability throughout the country. This is the way to keep affairs stable.”¹⁹

According to the *Kuan-tzu* the stabilization of prices depends also upon government control.

“The larger the quantity of commodities, the lower the price; the less the quantity, the higher its price. . . . A wise sovereign will be able to control the prices of goods, if he observes the abundance or scarcity of goods in the markets . . . when he observes the downward (or upward) movement of prices of goods, the fluctuation may be controlled by the use of money, and so the high and the low prices of goods may be evened up with a profit to the state.”²⁰

“The government control should be instituted before the

¹⁹The *Kuan-tzu*, Chap. 73, “The State Economy,” (cf. The *Kuan-tzu*, p. 282, edited by Lewis Maverick, 1954).

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 286.

situation has become obvious, and maintained until it (the control) has taken effect. Prices may be raised or lowered by the proper orders (to buy or sell), as could not be done if matters were left to the people. This is appropriate control.”²¹

The passages quoted above have made it quite clear that the government is in a position to expand or to correct the supply of money so that the value of money as well as the general level of prices may be determined by the government. When the prices are high, the government may contract the supply of money to force them down; when the prices are low, the government may, in like manner, expand the supply of money to raise them up. Indeed, the author of the *Kuan-tzu* is the forerunner of John M. Keynes.

The control of both production and consumption, for the author of the *Kuan-tzu*, is just as indispensable as the equalization of distribution. That is to say, a sound economy is always built on the basis of equilibrium. The writer of *Kuan-tzu* tends more to Co-wealthism than to Socialism. While insisting on government control to some extent, he does in no way advocate, like the Socialists, an overall planning. Thus the intrinsic value of the book *Kuan-tzu* lies in the fact that it aims at the removal of the distinction between the rich and poor on the one hand, and at the promotion of social welfare by readjusting the relation between production and consumption on the other. The following quotations speak for themselves.

“When men become wealthy, they are not interested in government employment; when poor, they are not awed by penalties. The reason that (today) the laws are not obeyed and the people can not be controlled, is that the poor and the rich have not been brought toward the same level. . . . Now, having had surveyors calculate how much is produced from the land under cultivation and reclamation, you are enabled to learn the exact quantities. You know how much the people consume, and how much land is allotted per capita. . . . You have learned that there should be enough to feed all the people.”²²

“Unless the sovereign properly arranges for the distribu-

²¹The *Kuan-tzu*, Chap. 74, “On State Regulation,” p. 286.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 379.

tion of what has been accumulated; and equalizes the possessions of those who have more than enough and of those who have too little, and distributes wealth to the people, then, even though he sponsors the fundamental occupations and resorts to the endless process of minting coins, he will not save his people from enslaving one another. How can he set a nation in order?"²³

Co-wealthism, as mentioned previously, neither represents completely such free economy as would deny all government control, nor stands for such Socialism as would abolish altogether free enterprise. Free economy should be protected in so far as it does not handicap the welfare of society at large. Individual freedom of trade and production should not be denied. At the same time, that the government, for the sake of furthering economic prosperity and avoiding business cycles, practice a sort of limited economic planning and limited public control is indispensable. In other words, a part of key industry of nationwide scope should be operated either directly by the government or by private individuals with government supervision. One may call it "mixed economy" though it needs further improvement one way or another. J. S. Gambs in his *Man, Money and Goods* states that the people's income in the United States is getting nearer to the ideal of equality. In 1929, for instance, the wealthiest men in the United States comprised one percent of the population, but had 30 percent of the income of the whole population. In 1946, the income of the one percent composed of the wealthiest men was only eight percent of the total income of whole population. This is, indeed, a big change brought about by peaceful and bloodless revolution. Moreover, this kind of mixed economy, as it has undergone drastic transformation during the past fifty years or so, should no longer be branded as Capitalism. Meanwhile, it is also incorrect to name it Socialism. In fact, the mixed economy preserves many strong points of Capitalism, such as the technological know-how, managerial efficiency, scientific organization, incentive, etc. While favoring to a large extent the Socialist ideal—socialization of distribution—the United States' mixed economy, unlike Socialism, keeps itself free from bureaucratism, inefficiency, dislocation of demand and supply, sabotage, etc.

²³*Op. cit.*

There is no doubt that the mixed economy is exactly what Co-wealthism calls for so far as the welfare of society is concerned. Co-wealthism, while admiring the efficiency of the capital system, is in opposition to such profit-grabbing as prejudices the well-being of others. Notwithstanding that the Co-wealthists, who hail the Socialists' policy of equalization of distribution, oppose strongly the ruthless deprivation of individual freedom.

It is not too much to say that the existing economy in the United States bears considerable resemblance to Co-wealthism. A few people in America who are not in favor of the outmoded term "Capitalism" have coined several new terms, such as "People's Capitalism," "Democratic Capitalism," "Economic Humanism," etc. They seem to be unaware of the fact that an incorrect and unpopular term cannot by any means be made correct and popular by just modifying it with a nice adjective. I think Frederick L. Allen's viewpoint may presumably stand for the opinion of many people in as well as outside of the United States. He says:

"Yet the vast majority of Americans agree that the government should continue to accept an overall responsibility for the satisfactory operation of national economy; that it should continue to accept the responsibility for relief when necessary; that it should supervise and regulate business to some extent; that it should subsidize and guarantee various groups to some extent;—but that it should keep its intervention limited, and should let the great bulk of business remain under private management. In short, there is subconscious agreement among the vast majority of Americans that the United States is not evolving toward Socialism, but past Socialism."²⁴

Nevertheless, from the viewpoint of Co-wealthism a sound and workable economic order must, above all, be as follows:

(1) Productive efficiency should be elevated, and the legitimate profit of individuals should be safeguarded by law. Monopolies, speculations, illegal manipulations, etc., which are in conflict with social common good, should be restricted.

(2) Rationalization of production, socialization of distribution, and equalization of consumption are the three basic goals of Co-wealthism which, for the benefit of society, must be

²⁴F. L. Allen, *The Big Change*, 1952, p. 291.

achieved step by step in every country, great and small.

(3) Cooperation and co-existence of private enterprise with the government enterprise should be encouraged. All economic planning, along with intervention on the part of government, should be carried out in such a way as not to deprive any individual of his or her freedom.

(4) All procedures concerning production, distribution, consumption, and exchange must be carried out in accordance with the essential ideal of people's co-wealth, whose implementation must be considered the first priority of every nation's administration.

When the economic reconstruction is brought about in conformity with the aforementioned principles, there will be neither overproduction nor underproduction. Meanwhile, the genuine profit of both producer and consumer will be reconciled as a result of cooperation between private and public enterprise. The evil of past Capitalism, as is known to everybody, is that a handful of Capitalists riding on the consumer's back do what they like to grab private profit. By the same token, the ill of present-day Communism lies in the fact that a handful of the party leaders and government officials riding also on the back of the people indulge themselves in exorbitant extortion and ruthless oppression. The harm done to the masses of people by the Communists is far greater than that done by the Capitalists, on account of the fact that the consumers, though exploited by the latter, still enjoy sufficient freedom, while the exploitation of the former has gone so far as to deny all individual freedom whatsoever.

(5) *From Rational International Trade to the Road of Co-Wealthism*

I have pointed out previously that economic interdependence in the family of nations has already made isolationism absolutely obsolete. The national economy of one country, however abundant her natural resources may be, cannot be separated from that of another country. Just as the individual owes his existence to society, so is it true with the nation. The United States, for instance, is beyond doubt the wealthiest country in the present-day world. Yet economically she has to keep herself in close touch with all other countries, near and far, because she must

import what is needed at home and export what needs to be sold abroad.

In fact, the economic interdependence of all nations has been so outstanding that the economic vicissitudes of one nation have been closely related to those of another at all points. If our neighboring nations are devoid of purchasing power, the exports of our own nation are immediately affected. In like manner, the imports of our country will also be greatly handicapped in the event of the fact that our neighboring states are incapable of exporting raw material. The imperialistic trade policy supported by gunboats in the 19th century, together with the Soviet policy of extortion and monopoly enacted in her satellites today, should no longer be continued, on the ground that they are aggressive and in conflict with the goal of Co-wealthism.

List, the founder of the theory of economic nationalism, maintains that it is determined almost exclusively by climatic conditions and other natural circumstances so that two clearly defined groups of countries are formed. The members of one group, situated in the temperate zone, are bound to become industrial producers, whereas the members of the second group, situated in the tropic or subtropic zones, are doomed to produce raw materials and foodstuffs. Thus, international trade is, for List, mainly the transactions between these two categories of countries. Obviously, List's theory is out of place, and would simply strengthen the influence of economic imperialism.

List's observation is unjustifiable, on the ground that whether a country is agricultural or industrial has nothing to do with climate at all. China, for instance, economically remains agricultural all along, though she is situated in the temperate zone. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, Britain was also an agricultural nation in spite of the fact that she was, as is today, located in the temperate zone. This is also true of France, Germany, and other countries.

In order to attain economic co-prosperity, it is necessary to have the underdeveloped areas such as the Afro-Asian countries industrialized as soon as possible with a view to increasing their social wealth and to elevating their living standard. By so doing, not only will the Afro-Asian countries be tremendously benefited, but also this will be considerably conducive to international trade as a whole. It would be an inexcusable misunderstanding

were industrialization of the underdeveloped areas regarded as a great loss of world market on the part of industrial countries. Let us bear in mind that an industrialized country needs as many industrial commodities as any agricultural country.

The United States, Great Britain and Germany are the highly industrialized countries of the world; at the same time, they are the chief importers of overseas industrial goods. The import of overseas industrial goods into Britain per capita was nine times as great as the corresponding Russian import trade, and the importation of industrial goods by Switzerland, which was industrialized in no small measure, was even greater by comparison with the size of her population. Accordingly, we cannot but concur with C. Presciani, who admits: "With the industrial progress of a country its capacity to import industrial goods increases."²⁵

Sixty years ago Joseph Chamberlain founded the tariff reform movement to revise the British foreign trade policy. His preferential tariffs arranged with the British Dominions for British goods were nothing but the furtherance of protectionism. For the sake of dominating the European market, Germany adopted such long-term agreements as the "System of Central European Trade Agreements." After 1930 a neo-mercantilism was developed in consequence of economic crisis. With the introduction of high protective tariffs, import prohibitions, quotas, licence systems, etc., genuine international economic relations were destroyed.

With the purpose of undermining the British industrial and commercial predominance, List proposed a coalition of European States against her. Evidently the idea of a Pan-European Economic Unity dominated by Germany did by no means originate during the course of the World War II. List considered Holland simply a "maritime province" of Germany, and other small nations merely political fragments. The present European Common Market advocated by France and Britain differs, however, from the policy of autarchy, or living spaces of the past, because it neither aims at frustrating British economic power with the Continental countries, nor at dominating the European market by Britain. This should, therefore, not be likened to List's proposal.

After World War II, the Kremlin's economic policy carried

²⁵C. Presciani-Turroni, *Economic Policy for the Thinking Man*, p. 201.

out in its satellites savored much more of the nature of autarchy than did the German policy as enforced in the beginning of the 20th century. The Soviet Union not only controls the international trade of her satellites, but also seizes their essential natural resources. The Soviets purchase the raw material from the satellites for low prices and sell them to other countries at much higher prices. Meanwhile, what is exported to the satellites for sale is of poor quality, yet priced exorbitantly. Most of the agricultural products and mineral substances, especially those related to military use, in Eastern Europe as well as in Communist China prior to 1960, are under the domination of the Soviet Union. This kind of economic aggression is even far more malicious than any military invasion. The people's revolt in Poland and Hungary in 1956 was caused exactly by such economic imperialism.

International trade is always built upon the theory of comparative advantage of the "law of comparative costs." In other words, it aims at a reciprocal benefit by means of international economic cooperation. This is in fact a sort of multi-lateralism practiced on the basis of the economic division of labor. Genuine international trade, unlike colonialism and imperialism, focuses its attention on economic profits of both sides, instead of securing one's interest at the expense of the other part. In fact, nothing is more hostile to Co-wealthism than economic imperialism, which should no longer be tolerated. It is essential that international trade hereafter be carried out in accordance with the spirit of a co-wealthy economy.

Looking toward re-liberation of the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain, it is imperative that we restore their economic freedom by providing them with free and independent international trade so that their imports and exports will no longer be dominated by the Kremlin. As soon as they have a free hand in trade, domestic and international, their national economy together with their living standard will certainly be greatly improved.

Formerly many short-sighted people were of the opinion that the "tariff wall," no small stumbling-block to free international trade, might be an effective counter-measure for combating unemployment on the one hand, and for protecting domestic industry on the other. They failed, on account of their lack of foresight, to realize that the rigid restrictions imposed upon the imports of neighbouring countries not only rendered them unable

to encourage their imports but aggravated the economic crisis of the very nation that favored protective measures.

Evidently, the outcome of restricting foreign imports by a tariff wall means nothing more or less than directly lowering the purchasing power of the trade partners, and indirectly destroying one's own foreign market. Therefore, any farsighted statesman would by no means exploit a tariff wall to boycott foreign imports because he is completely aware of the fact that the balance of payments, resulting from international trade, is the only road to economic prosperity of both sides.

During the past two decades or so more people have begun to realize that protectionism, whether it takes the form of high tariff duties, import quotas, or foreign exchange controls, is in no sense justifiable in so far as it affects the living standard at home and political relations abroad. After 1934 the United States took the initiative to break the barriers to trade under the "Reciprocal Trade Agreements" program. Since 1945 the American President was empowered to raise or lower the duties by 59 per cent on the basis of negotiation with other countries. It was not until 1947 that further progress was attained. As a result of the Geneva Conference the GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade) was brought about. Accordingly most of the world's trade was made subject to lower rates of duty and increased quotas to a large extent. Under the GATT the American government reduced the duties by 75 percent from the 1930 level.²⁶

In March 1948 the International Trade Organization (ITO) was set up as a result of negotiation between the United States and fifty other nations. This organization aims at the reduction of tariff so as to further the freedom of international trade, to secure co-prosperity of the highly industrialized nations together with the developing countries, and, most important of all, to prevent a trade war disastrous to all trade partners concerned. Should all participants of this organization put the agreement into effect sincerely the world economy would no doubt be improved by leaps and bounds, and economic crisis could be brought to an end. This is unquestionably the main road to Co-wealthism.

(6) *Exploitation and Rational Control of World Resources*

Most of the natural resources in industrialized countries have

²⁶Henry W. Spiegel, *Current Economic Problems*, pp. 521-534.

long been exploited to a large extent in consequence of technological progress coupled with swift economic growth. But rich natural resources in underdeveloped regions in Asia, Africa, Latin America remain to be exploited. It is undeniable that many, if not all, international disputes and wars result from economic rather than pure political issues. And the seizure of natural resources is time after time the main cause of international hostilities.

The Southeastern Asian countries such as Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indo-China, Philippines, Thailand, Burma and Malaysia have an abundant stock of natural resources and manpower. According to the United Nations statistics of 1969, the population of the above nations was as follows: 115,400,000 in Indonesia, 536,900,000 in India, 131,600,000 in Pakistan, 12,300,000 in Ceylon, 21,400,000 in North Vietnam, 17,900,000 in South Vietnam, 37,100,000 in the Philippines, 19,190,000 in Thailand, 27,000,000 in Burma, 10,700,000 in Malaysia, and 2,100,000 in Singapore.

The main natural resources in Southeastern Asia are rubber, tin, cotton and rice. In 1952 the output of rubber in this area was as follows:

Indonesia produced 675,000 tons of rubber per annum; Malaya produced 550,000 tons per annum; the annual output in both Ceylon and Thailand amounted to 100,000 tons; in Burma and North Borneo the annual output was 130,000 tons; the total output of rubber in Southeastern Asia was estimated at 1,560,000 tons in 1952. The combined rubber products in both Indonesia and Malaya amounted to three-fourths of the world's rubber products. In addition, the cotton of Pakistan, together with the rice of Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, constituted a large quantity of export.

The natural resources in Latin America are also of significance. Brazil's coffee and sugar, Chile's copper, Venezuela's petroleum, and Bolivia's tin are the main resources of South America. According to the statistics of 1952, the United States imported goods from South America amounted to 32 percent of her total importation. In 1952 petroleum produced in Central and South America totaled 121,000,000 tons.

The Middle East, including Egypt, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Arabia, etc., possesses a territory of 10,000,000 square miles (about the same size

as Europe) with a population of 134,200,000. The Middle East is abundantly stocked with petroleum (about 42 percent of the world store). In 1952, the output of petroleum in the Middle East totaled 101,147,000 tons (the total output of petroleum of the whole world in that year amounted to 574,000,000 tons). The Middle East produces 17 percent of the world's petroleum.

The size of Africa is approximately one-fiftieth of the world's territory, with a population of only 7.5 percent of the world's inhabitants. Africa is in possession of the greatest potentiality of hydro-electricity. At present only one percent of this power has been utilized. Apart from such agricultural products as cocoa, wool, peanuts, sesame, olive oil, cotton, wheat, etc., Africa has also a considerable stock of such minerals as diamonds, golds, cobalt, antimony, manganese, tin, phosphorus, zinc, copper, etc.

The output of African diamonds in 1950 totaled 98.4 percent of the world product. The output of cobalt totaled 87.4 percent of the world output. Both gold and manganese totaled about half of the world output in the same year.²⁷

Africa, like South America, is not so densely populated as are other parts of the world. These two areas are able to accommodate a great number of immigrants. Although the density of population in Southeastern Asia and the Middle East is somewhat greater than other areas, their undeveloped resources are as abundant as in Africa. If a considerable number of Chinese, Japanese or Indians could be emigrated to Africa, the latter would be as tremendously benefited as the former, because it would be pretty hard to get Africa well developed short of a large quantity of immigrants.

All the underdeveloped areas are urgently in need of economic and technical aid from the world organization. The United Nations and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development can and should provide both money and technicians for the development of these areas. Happily, the United Nations can do a lot through the medium of UNESCO, FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization), and WHO (World Hygiene Organization), to tackle the problem of food, education, and sanitation. At the same time, the TAC (Technique Assistance Commission) and TAB (Technique Assistance Bureau) may coordinate and cooperate with such programs as the "Point Four," the "Colombo

²⁷*Summary of Recent Economic Development in Africa*, United Nations, 1950-51.

Program, etc., in order to bring about the following projects:

(1) A comprehensive economic plan for the reconstruction of underdeveloped areas with the aim of multiplying industrial and agricultural production so as to elevate the people's living standard by industrialization of agriculture and mechanization of industry.

(2) Effective measures to be adopted in order that inflation may be checked, international exchange may be well readjusted, and that the national budget of every country may be well balanced.

(3) The barriers to international trade must be abolished, and special attention be paid to encourage the growth of small countries' economies.

(4) Strengthening a worldwide campaign for the elimination of illiteracy, disease, and poverty—the three arch-enemies of world civilization.

(5) Furthering social welfare of the whole world and checking the alarming growth of the population by birth control. Both eugenics and euthenics must be positively practiced far and wide.

(6) To strengthen the independence and economic development of African countries.

(7) World resources must be so justly controlled and so fairly distributed among the nations in accordance with the principle of reciprocal benefit as to prevent big powers from dominating or manipulating. And the world organization must see to it that all resources will no longer be used for war.

(8) An international committee to be set up with the purpose of undertaking the essential functions such as exploitation, transportation, allocation, and coordination of the world resources.

It is very encouraging that, after the independence of the Gold Coast—Ghana—on March 6, 1957, a number of African colonies became independent states one after another. In this case the government of Great Britain, having liberally granted freedom to her colony, deserves the appreciation of the whole world. Now there are forty independent nations in Africa. These new nations, as a result of the past colonial rule, are mostly characterized by dual economies—some small area has been modernized economically, while the large part of the rest remains still primitively rural.

(7) *Augmentation of World Wealth*

Two-thirds of the world's population have been living a miserable life of semi-starvation. Four-fifths of the underprivileged people are illiterates. There is only one doctor among every six thousand people, and their average span of life is thirty years—just half that of the Western European and American people.

Moreover, these unfortunate destitutes have per capita an average of one horsepower per day, while people in the highly industrialized countries have per capita daily an average of 26.6 horsepower. The calories consumed daily per capita in the underdeveloped areas are estimated at about 1,800, whereas the people in North America and Western Europe consume daily per capita 3,040 calories.

Obviously, poverty is one of the grave problems remaining to be solved wisely as well as quickly if we are unwilling to experience a global disaster. Now that the threat of poverty is increasingly alarming day by day, we must remedy it as soon as possible in order to keep world civilization from ruin. The causes of poverty may be classified as follows:

- (1) There are still many wastelands left unutilized.
- (2) People in the underdeveloped countries fail to increase production for lack of technological know-how. Consequently, they are at a loss as to how to improve irrigation, soil, seeds, livestock, etc.
- (3) The population in the economically backward countries grows so swiftly that their production cannot keep pace with it.
- (4) Dislocation between production and consumption gives rise to overproduction in the highly industrialized countries; the industrialized backward nations are annoyed by the shortage of supplies in view of underproduction.
- (5) Waste of manpower and resources as a result of lack of technical know-how.
- (6) Irresistible destruction resulting from natural calamities.
- (7) Application of unsound economic systems such as Communism leads to wide discontent and sabotage and seriously affects productivity.
- (8) Exorbitant military expenditures in arms races and devastation of war.

(9) Scientific knowledge and technology have not been used constructively to the best advantage of economic development.

(10) Misgovernment or mismanagement, which leads to spirals of inflation and depression, gives rise to many man-made disasters and destruction.

The key to resolving the complex poverty problem lies neither in Capitalism, nor in Communism or other Socialisms. The eventual solution has to be sought in a new politico-economic philosophy as embodied in Co-wealthism. In other words, apart from the augmentation of the world's wealth together with other measures detailed previously, there is no likelihood of winning the war against poverty.

The source of wealth, past and present, derives chiefly from land products rather than marine products. In fact, the area of ocean and sea is three times the land. Until lately very few people paid much attention to the infinitely abundant wealth hidden beneath the water. Most likely the word "poverty" would disappear from our dictionary, were the marine resources fully exploited. It is nearly beyond the imagination of ordinary man that the boundless treasure of the sea is so invaluable and so rich that it would have enriched the whole world, had it been utilized completely.

Such marine products as fishes, clams, shrimps, crabs, turtles, abalone, mussels, seals, sea lions, walrus, whales, dolphins, pearls, sea-slugs, coral, etc., are produced in large quantity.

Salt is not only one of our daily necessities but also is widely used in the chemical industry. From 100,000 tons of bittern we may find 2,800 tons of magnesium sulphate. Furthermore, agar, one of the edible seaweeds, increases Japan's annual income six million dollars. There are about six hundred small agar factories in Japan.

Ever since 1953 the Americans have drawn petrol from the bottom of the sea. Along the coast of Louisiana and Texas, the marine petrol, so far as the quantity of stock is concerned, is estimated at about 18,000,000,000 barrels. The stock of American marine petrol is beyond our power to estimate accurately at present. Judging from what has been discovered it constitutes 50 percent of the total American land petrol stock.

Of late the scientists have been planning to generate heat from

the sea. While tremendous heat may be derived from uranium, it is hard to prevent danger resulting from its radioactivity. Some scientists maintain that hydrogen, a sort of idealistic fuel, may be derived from the sea as well. When this new project is worked out the heat generated from the sea may serve mankind for millions of years.

The urban inhabitants are growing so swiftly in most of the nations that the municipal authorities are confronted with the problem of housing. Despite the multiplication of skyscrapers, the limitation of urban land still poses a serious issue. Probably the solution must eventually rely on the utilization of the space above the sea. It is unrealistic to plan building marine cities with a view to accommodating immigrants from various lands, provided we get the weather controlled to such an extent that all threat of hurricanes can be prevented by scientific measures.

With marvelous achievement in atomic-energy research and with the tremendously great power of hydrogen explosions, it is within the capacity of the scientists to further the control of natural calamities to such a degree that the deserts may be turned into green lands, both the North Pole and the South Pole may be made inhabitable; marine cities may be developed by leaps and bounds; the air temperature of the whole world may be conditioned as satisfactorily as man desires; and the world's wealth, on account of the immense increase of land and marine products, may be enhanced five or sixfold compared with the existing world output. It is by no means the fictionist's imagination so far as the infinite progress of science and technology is concerned. Time and space are boundless; so is the development of scientific knowledge together with the advance of civilization.

Technicians have already hinted that by the year 2,000 man may control his climate by the flick of a switch or the turn of a dial. J. W. Alsdorf, President of Mitchell Manufacturing Co. of Chicago, says: "Within the next 45 years, if research and engineering continue at their present pace, we may have taken a step toward changing everybody's way of living. Although all we can do is look into a crystal ball today, none of these dreams is beyond the realm of possibility."²⁸

As a matter of fact, Americans today travel in air-conditioned trains, airplanes and automobiles. Subway cars in New York are

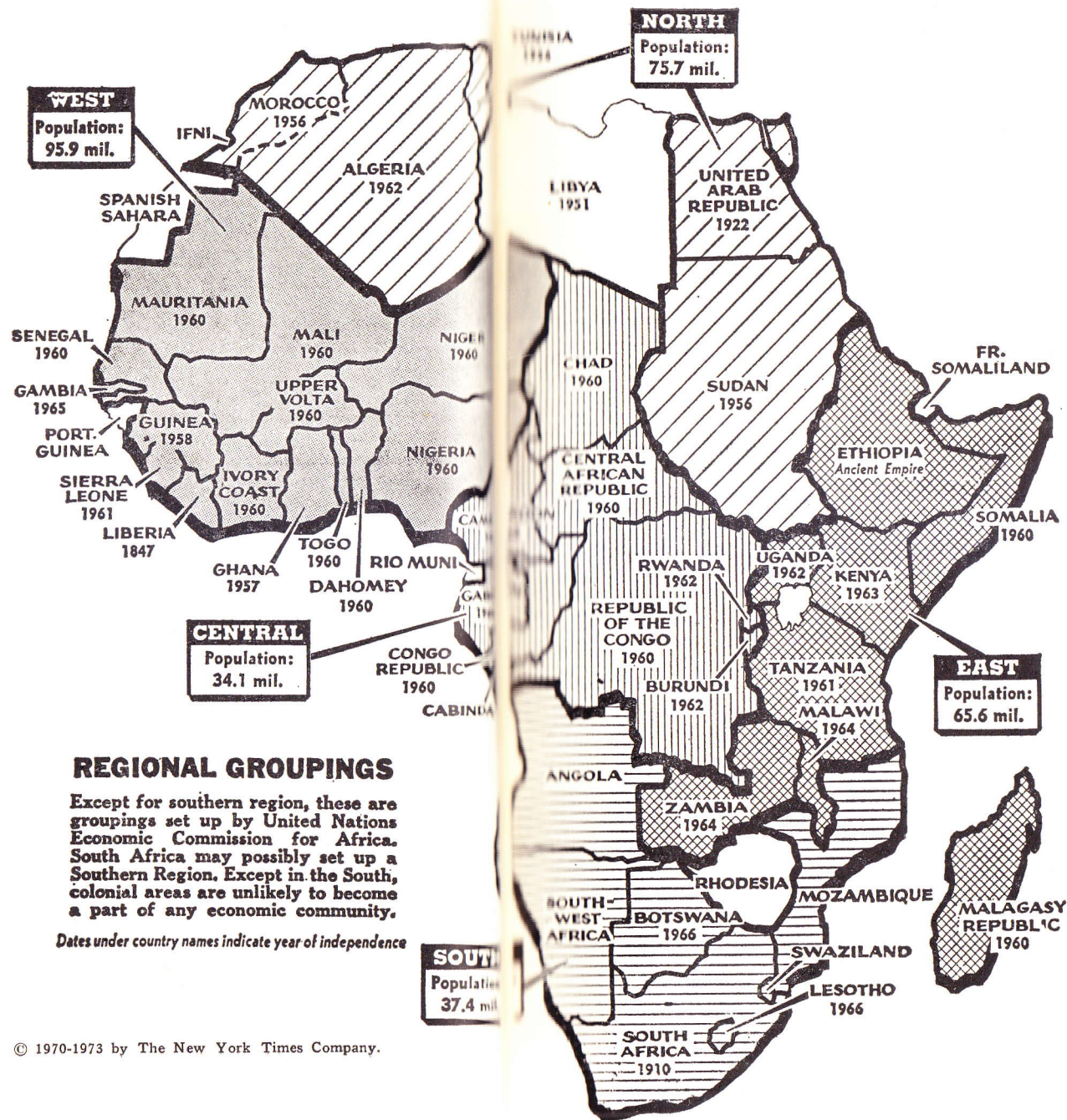
now air conditioned. "Turning to the great outdoors," Walter A. Grant, Vice President of Research and Development for the Carrier Corp., asserted, "air conditioning will achieve spectacular results both in the city and on the farm. Inflated plastic canopies may be used to hold conditioned air over football stadia, a fore-runner of air-conditioned streets and even air-conditioned cities."²⁹

In addition to the exploitation of marine resources, there is, again, the tremendous possibility of turning water into useful land. What the Dutch have achieved in Holland is the case in point from which we may learn a valuable lesson. The Dutch have built two thousand miles of dunes and dykes to keep out the sea and river water; otherwise, half of Holland's territory would be either non-existent or constantly flooded at high tide. In fact, the story of Holland is the story of constant struggle by a courageous people with the sea. Small Holland is a crowded country. It now has to meet the challenge of a population explosion. There is some truth in the remark that God created the world, with the exception of Holland, which was created by the Dutch themselves. The Zuider Zee plan mapped out by Lely, a noted Dutch engineer, has set a good example for us. While Lely succeeded in turning the water into land, the engineers of other countries are able, of course, to do the same.

What was considered miraculous is, in the Atomic Age, merely commonplace. It is, therefore, no longer a dream to talk about building a paradise on earth, let alone the augmentation of wealth. If the new technology, used now for the proliferation of inter-continental ballistic missiles, could be utilized for such peaceful purposes as illustrated in these pages, mankind at large would beyond doubt be free from fear and want, though I do not imply that such a new era could be brought about overnight. Nevertheless, the age-long cherished ideal that the Kingdom of God be built on earth as it is in Heaven should not be regarded as an illusion. Should the scientists, natural as well as social, pool their brains for world peace and happiness, the goal of Co-wealthism can be attained in the long run. All thinking men should share the firm belief that the ideal of today should and can be realized tomorrow; that the blessing or disaster of the world in the days to come depends upon the transformation of man's mind; and that one's success or failure is determined by one's devotion to what is noble and what should be done.

²⁸*Hongkong Standard*, July 29, 1957.

²⁹*Ibid.*



REGIONAL GROUPINGS

Except for southern region, these are groupings set up by United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. South Africa may possibly set up a Southern Region. Except in the South, colonial areas are unlikely to become a part of any economic community.

Dates under country names indicate year of independence

Chapter VI

REALIZATION OF PEACE AND CREATION OF A NEW CIVILIZATION

(1) *Road to Peace*

It is no exaggeration to say that world civilization might be ruined at any moment, were the authorities of the East and West not cautious enough to avoid all unjustifiable provocations that would lead to global hostilities. Notwithstanding that neither the Kremlin nor Washington is actually resorting to force for the solution of international disputes, the hysteria of war can in no respect be removed so long as the causes of war remain intact. The mere desire for peace on the part of both the people and the government is, it seems to me, not the most effective guarantee that the world will surely enjoy lasting tranquility; meanwhile it is not enough to profess that we are not so wooden-headed as jumping from the frying pan into the fire, and accordingly peace will be maintained somehow or other.

Just as diseases often attack us despite our desire for health, so does war. Apart from the desire and determination for peace, we are imperatively in need of concrete measures that would enable us to secure peace in more or less the same way as an epidemic is avoided by effectively preventive methods. The causes of war may be generally attributed to economic, political and psychological factors. I believe, however, the psychological factor is probably one of greatest significance. There are at least three concrete measures for the furtherance of peace: (A) the transformation of human psychology; (B) the suspension of the armaments race together with the control of nuclear weapons; and (C) the formation of a world government.

(A) *Transformation of Human Psychology.* Every institu-

tion, good or bad, is as I have pointed out previously the outcome of human thought. Both peace and war, like other institutions, result mainly from the psychological trend of man. History indicates that nearly all wars, great and small, civil or international, may be ascribed more or less to the tendency of the people's psychology. Indeed, war would have long been made obsolete had the whole of humanity, including the powers that be, been resolute and psychologically peace-oriented enough to maintain peace at all events. While it is true that the combative instinct of man is imbued by nature, we should not be led to the conclusion that war is instinctively inevitable, and that to oppose war means to defy human nature.

One cannot but wonder why Germany, a highly civilized nation with an excellent background in philosophy and literature, unfortunately took the initiative twice in the world wars of which she became the poorest victim. The answer cannot be sought anywhere other than in the trend of German psychology, which is, in turn, attributable to the influence of German thinkers such as Fichte, Treitsche, Nietzsche, etc. Fichte appealed to the Germans: "Always, without exception, the most civilized nation is the most aggressive." Treitsche, a noted Professor of Berlin University, declared: "War will endure to the end of history. The laws of human thought and of human nature forbid any alternative, neither is one to be wished for." Moreover, another German philosopher, Nietzsche, is said to have ridiculously maintained: "Man shall be trained for war, and woman for the recreation of warriors; all else is folly." Again, Hegel's philosophy of the state cannot be said to have had no impact on German ultra-nationalism, which is closely related to militarism and war. "The state," said Hegel, "is the divine idea as it exists on earth. . . . It is the absolute power on earth. It is its own end and object. It is the ultimate end which has the highest right against the individual."¹

Highly-civilized Germany would in all probability never have been devastated by two global wars if the Germans, especially the ruling class, were not psychologically affected by those mad thinkers. Undoubtedly, whether or not we are able to head off World War III depends largely, if not entirely, upon whether or not we can remold human psychology in such a way as to substitute the will-to-peace for the will-to-war.

¹Viscount Samuel, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 163-164.

Professor Theo. F. Lentz, a vehement advocate of peace in the United States, says: "We suggest that a distinction be made between the desire for peace and the will for peace. We suggest that there is essentially the difference between abstract belief in peace and concrete effort for peace. This difference, in turn, goes along with the difference between concern merely over the goal of world peace in contrast to a concern with the means as well."²

I completely concur with Prof. Lentz that the knowledge necessarily needed for effective peace action is not now possessed by man. That is to say, the peace know-how is still lacking. No doubt, a lasting peace must be built on liberty, equality, and fraternity. Liberty means the right, as Joseph Mazzini holds, of every man to exercise his faculties without impediment in the accomplishment of his mission, which must be in harmony with the general mission of humanity. Equality means the recognition of uniform rights and duties for all men. And fraternity means the reciprocal affection which inclines man to do unto others as he would have others do unto him.³

These fundamental principles have long been expounded by great thinkers and religious leaders, East and West. Theoretically, most present-day people are conscious of, and not opposed to, these lofty ideals. Practically, the majority of them are not in a position to tell how to make them into a reality. The desire for peace alone is, as has been pointed out, far from adequate; it must be supplemented by the will for peace. Obviously, this brings in the issue of remolding human psychology. The peace psychology, just like the war psychology, cannot be cultivated overnight. It needs time and enormous effort.

Bertrand Russell differs from many other philosophers in the sense that he, far from being a sheer dreamer, take the objective situation as what it is instead of imagining the world to suit his theory. Accordingly, what he thinks to be the best remedy for present-day ills is not only sound but also workable. On the one hand, he warns us: "Any war, in our scientific age, means, sooner or later, universal death." On the other, he has made quite clear that every system, sound or unsound, is backed up as well as affected by a kind of philosophy—an organized and systematic

²Theo. F. Lentz, *Towards a Science of Peace*, p. 58.

³J. Mazzini, "Pact of Fraternity of Young Europe" (1834). Cf. *Life and Writings of J. Mazzini*, III (1905).

thought of man. The following illustration is worthy of notice:

"The Catholic Church is committed to the philosophy of Aquinas, the Soviet government to that of Marx. The Nazis upheld German idealism, though the degree of allegiance to be given to Kant, or Hegel respectively was not clearly laid down. Catholics, Communists, and Nazis all consider that their views on practical politics are bound up with their views on theoretical philosophy. Democratic liberalism, in its early successes, was connected with the empirical philosophy developed by Locke."⁴

Evidently, it shows that a man's philosophy, representing the psychological trends of thinkers, has a close connection with the happiness or misery of humanity. I agree with Russell that the fanatics, the most dangerous people of the world, have failed throughout history either because they pursued impossible aims, or because they distorted facts in the interest of theory, and that "only through a revival of liberal tentativeness and tolerance can our world survive."⁵

There is no doubt that war-psychology must by all means be replaced by peace-psychology. The way of doing it is to substitute liberalism for unbalanced fanaticism. This transformation of human psychology cannot be brought about short of a worldwide campaign of mental reconstruction. The educators, writers, journalists, evangelists, and all public-opinion-forming agencies such as radio, television, movies, newspapers and magazines can and should take active part in this drive in order that world civilization may eventually be kept free from destruction. People all over the world should realize that it is an age in which we have to think less of the present than of the future, less of the comfort and pleasure of our generation than of the lives we are preparing for the generations to come.

It is still not too late for the intellectuals of every land to initiate a general mobilization for mental and moral regeneration to awaken their fellow human beings by resorting to reason rather than passion. Only by appealing to reason alone can man be led to the road of peace. When Voltaire says: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it," he is of course driven mentally by reason.

Voltaire, in one of his "*Contes*," confronts his hero with a

⁴Bertrand Russell, *Philosophy and Politics* (1947).

⁵*Op. cit.*

tribe of cannibals who are about to eat him. But he makes them a fine speech and proves from first principles that it is a mistake to eat people. They are all converted, and acclaim him as a great man. This is obviously a victory of reason at all points. To save the world, as Bertrand Russell emphasizes, requires faith and courage—faith in reason, and courage to proclaim what reason shows to be true. To save the world is not a hopeless task, but it will not be achieved by those who deem it hopeless.⁶

What Thomas Jefferson addressed to the teachers at the University of Virginia is worthy of reflection. He said: "This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it." Let us all bear in mind that there would be no war at all if reason prevailed throughout the world.

The progress of social science cannot, as I have mentioned previously, keep pace with the progress of natural science. As a result, humanity today is deeply puzzled about what to do with such tremendously great destructive powers as the H-bomb, ICBM, MIRV, etc. Are we not heading for collective suicide if these unprecedented destructive powers cannot be controlled and used for peaceful purposes? It is impossible, however, to get this goal materialized, unless a thorough reconstruction of human psychology, together with the revival of reason and morality, are brought about before it is too late.

Dr. Arnold A. Hutschnecker, author of *The Will to Happiness*, voiced the same sort of opinion as I expressed above; and his suggestions in relation to maintaining peace are even more positive. He said: "Actually, our course of action has been clearly stated in the constitution of UNESCO. Its second paragraph reads: 'Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defense of peace must be constructed.' The question is how to implement this principle since the world is not ruled by mature, emphatic psychotherapists but by politicians, partisans or revolutionaries, not always the best-adjusted people and often driven by an inner unrelenting compulsive will to power."⁷

Moreover, Dr. Hutschenecker offered some concrete remedies for reversing the long sick mentality. As man for millennia has

⁶Bertrand and Dora Russell, *The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*, p. 221 (1923).

been conditioned to war, he emphasized that scientists in all countries should enlighten all people so that they can press their governments to applying scientific measures of detecting and curing by Pavlovian methods the disposition to violence. Accordingly, he set forth the following proposals:

1. In order to maintain a lasting peace the energies of human aggression must be liberated and channeled into creative and productive pursuits.

2. The ideology and practical application of peace will demand a gigantic program of education and reconditioning of thinking, so enormous that it must become the main business of government.

3. Techniques of sublimation of human aggression must be developed. A Department of Peace must balance the existing Department of Defense.

4. Individual people should urge the lawmakers to help restore the prestige and physical power of the United Nations, which should have a string of international police forces.⁸

Another scientist, Dr. Dennis Gabor, the winner of the 1971 Nobel Prize in Physics, also lays great stress on the regeneration of human inner life. He, like Dr. Hutschnecker, realizes that peace must come from within. In his article "Innovation Must Go On"—excerpted from his book, *Innovation: Scientific, Technological and Social*—Dr. Gabor observes that man has fought nature for perhaps a hundred thousand years; now he will have to fight his own nature. Finally, he declares: "The insane quantitative growth must stop; but innovation must not stop—it must take an entirely new direction. Instead of working blindly toward things bigger and better, it must work toward improving the quality of life rather than increasing its quantity. Innovation must work toward a new harmony, a new equilibrium; otherwise it will only lead to an explosion."⁹

In addition to the physicist's contribution in regard to the change of human mentality, the chemist and psychologist are now even more interested in this problem. The technique CSB (chemical stimulation of the brain) has been used with a view to

⁸Dr. Hutschnecker's article "The Road to Peace," March 29, 1971, *The New York Times*.

⁹*Ibid.*

⁹Cf. Dr. Gabor's article, Nov. 7, 1971, *The New York Times*.

controlling minds. By dropping some chemicals in the brain the emotions may be changed. Pharmaceutical scientists have produced pills that perk up a depressed mind and tranquilize a case of jittery nerves.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, President of the American Psychological Association and Professor of Psychology at the City College of New York, in an address made at the association's annual meeting in September, 1971, proposed the creation of new drugs that could routinely be given to people, especially politicians holding great power, to curb their aggressive and hostile behavior. He pointed out that recent studies of electrical and chemical control of the brain suggest that we might be on the threshold of that type of scientific, biochemical intervention which could stabilize and make dominant the moral and ethical propensities of man and subordinate his negative and primitive behavioral tendencies.

In fact, drugs capable of controlling emotions and aggressive behavior are already being developed and used by physicians in individual cases. While many scientists saw nothing unsound in Dr. Clark's notion, many others felt that not only the effect of the mind-affecting drugs was unpredictable, but it would be exceedingly hazardous were such drugs used by the dictators as tools of mass regimentation and brainwashing. With regard to the experiment of mind-controlling through psycho-technology, Dr. Jose M. R. Delgado of Yale University carried out several years ago a significant demonstration.

Dr. Delgado implanted a radio-controlled electrode deep within the brain of a brave bull, a variety bred to respond with a raging charge when it sees any human being. But when Dr. Delgado pressed a button on a transmitter, sending a signal to a battery-powered receiver attached to the bull's horns, an impulse went into the bull's brain and the animal would cease his charge. In the wake of repeated stimulation, the bull's aggressive behavior disappeared. A similar device has been implanted in the brain of a man given to uncontrollable bursts of rage. When he feels such an attack coming on, he presses a button on his battery pack and remains peaceful. This technique is known as ESB (electrical stimulation of the brain).¹⁰

¹⁰Boyce Rensberger, "Mind Control," *The New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1971.

Education, being the most powerful instrument for remolding human mentality, can of course play an important role at this critical time. As formerly wrong education has paved the way for militarism and ultra-nationalism, so will a sound education unquestionably lead man to the road of peace. With the cooperation and consolidation of the world's intellectuals, the UNESCO should take the following items into serious consideration and work them out swiftly:

(1) Urging all the member nations to revise the unsound educational goals so as to turn the youth of this generation into world citizens who are free from chauvinism.

(2) Urging all the member nations to revise their textbooks of history so as to delete all those distorted facts savoring of the nature of militarism and imperialism. In other words, a genuine history should, hereafter, be entirely colorless so that no such materials as will provoke international hatred and hostility are used.

(3) Encouraging the wide exchange of students and professors between various nations with a view to promoting mutual understanding and cooperation. Meanwhile, International Universities of Peace should be set up in most of the cultural centers to accommodate students of different countries in order to break down the barriers of race, nationality, and creed.

(4) Disseminating the idea of Cosmopolitanism or Internationalism to create an atmosphere of peace and love throughout the whole world. Above all, the destiny of humanity hinges upon the common effort of all thinking men to pool their brains for building a better world free from wars, civil and international.

(B) *Suspension of Arms Race and Control of Nuclear Weapons.* The unceasing arms race would, from the economic point of view, lead to bankruptcy sooner or later, because the development of intermediate and intercontinental missiles costs a fantastic amount of money and would rock the very foundation of the national economy. The entire American missile program, for instance, has cost the government about \$6,000,000,000, and this is only the beginning. An artillery shell for a big naval gun costs about \$150 each; some relatively cheap missiles are said to cost in some cases \$4,000,000 each. Thus no country, however rich it may be, can afford to continue the arms race ad infinitum.

Now that global hostility would no doubt destroy the whole of humanity, there would be no victory whatsoever on either side. What is, then, the use of waging war that profits nobody in the long run? When one thinks about the know-how of averting war, one cannot but admit that nothing could be more imperative than the suspension of the armament race, along with the control of nuclear weapons.

The failure of the disarmament conference at present as well as in the past is largely due to the fact that nations reason like this: If the supremacy of military power is on the side of my enemy, I must leave no stone unturned to make my defensive force at least equal, if not superior, to that of the enemy; on the contrary, if my force is stronger than the enemy my enemy will, in like manner, do his best to heighten the speed of the armament race. It seems easier, however, to come to a bilateral agreement on the suspension of the military preparation if either the power of both is balanced, or if one is really so superior to the other that the other is technically and economically not in a position to keep pace with his opponent. Unfortunately, the present situation is far from being such. No nation can possibly claim the monopoly of air-atomic power, and no nation can bring her enemy to terms by force. Consequently, a state of stalemate will most likely remain for a considerable length of time. It seems unlikely to reach an effective agreement on disarmament unless the nuclear weapons are strictly controlled by a world organization.

On November 20, 1959, the 14th session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted the program for general and complete disarmament presented by the Soviet government, and referred it to the ten-nation disarmament committee for consideration. Because of the difference between the Soviet plan and the West's proposal, the ten-nation disarmament conference at Geneva was torpedoed by Khrushchev, who ordered his own and his puppets' delegates to walk out on June 27th, 1960.

While agreeing with the Soviet Union in principle with regard to the general disarmament, the West feels that the Soviet plan is unfeasible. The West is united not only in rejecting the deceptive and impracticable Soviet plan for a one-sided Western disarmament but also in standing firmly on the three basic principles of its own proposal. These principles are: (1) a step-by-step approach to disarmament, with each succeeding step depend-

ing on the verified completion of the preceding one; (2) a constant balance between disarmament in nuclear arms, the best defense of the West, and conventional disarmament to check aggression by Communist mass armies; (3) effective control from the very first step onward to prevent cheating. The West is of the opinion that any "revision" of the Western plan that impairs any one of these principles would imperil the West and increase the danger of war.

The Soviet accused the Western powers of not showing any readiness to agree either to the prohibition and destruction of means of nuclear delivery or the liquidation of the armed forces and conventional armament.

The West's rebuttal, as summarized in the statement of Fredrick M. Eaton, chief United States delegate, reads thus: "What is the Soviet purpose in torpedoing this conference? The purpose is now clear. The Soviets sent their delegates back to Geneva, as the Soviets went to Paris, determined not to negotiate, but to forestall negotiation; not to reach agreements, but to prevent agreements. Just as Mr. Khrushchev torpedoed the summit conference, the Soviets have torpedoed the ten-nation conference. Clearly they seem determined to frustrate any serious discussion in which differences might be resolved. Thus Soviet action today, this refusal to continue the discussions, is convincing proof that the present motivation is propaganda, pure propaganda."¹¹

That the Soviets refused to discuss the Western plan based on the control and insisted on their own plan is the main cause of disarmament deadlock. The Soviets did take the disarmament issue before the United Nations General Assembly in the hope that they could exploit the increasing accession of the newly-formed neutral states to turn it into a more promising propaganda forum. Furthermore, they also intended to frighten the American people with their arrogant attitude of rocket-rattling into electing a more amenable President, and to alarm the free nations and thereby split them.

It is encouraging, however, that the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—have opened talks on strategic arms limitation (SALT) in Helsinki and Vienna successively in 1970. The two superpowers are aware of the tremendous cost

and disastrous consequences of the unlimited missile race. Accordingly, both sides deem it of necessity to halt the race by an agreement beneficial to both of them. In October 1969, Moscow sent word to Washington that there would be substantial support for a MIRV (multiple independently targeted reentry vehicle) halt within the Soviet government. But later the Russians hinted that the United States is to take the lead in proposing the ban. Meanwhile, the Soviet official press and Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin have signaled the Kremlin's interest in halting MIRV and ABM (antiballistic missile) deployment.

Should the SALT in Vienna reach an agreement banning both ABM and MIRV, there would be no continuous race for replacement of the system with a new generation of anti-missiles, radars and computers. Of course, there would be rapid multiplication of separately targeted nuclear delivery vehicles in the offensive forces of both sides, were MIRV not banned. The United States revealed concern at Helsinki that the current deployment of the huge Soviet SS-9 rocket and its equipment with MIRV warheads could, if combined with its anti-missile defense, give the Soviet a first-strike capability. By the same token, the Soviet also expressed apprehension about the American Polaris submarines, which are being converted for Poseidon missiles, each capable of carrying as many as a dozen MIRV warheads. The Soviet delegates confirmed semi-official indications that the Kremlin now is prepared to limit defensive anti-ballistic systems together with offensive intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM). Washington should suspend MIRV tests and deployment if the Soviet Union does the same. As the deployment of MIRV cannot be detected by satellite inspection, it must be halted as soon as possible. It would be a great benefit to the two superpowers, let alone the whole world, had the SALT in Vienna reached accord in banning MIRV and ABM.

Obviously, it is putting the cart before the horse to talk about problems such as general disarmament and world peace without effective control of the United Nations, or a world government which will inevitably emerge if man wants to survive. As to the danger of the nuclear test explosion, the remarks of scientists are somewhat contradictory. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize-winning chemist, estimated that 10,000 persons are dead or dying of leukemia around the world because of the atomic and hydrogen bomb

¹¹F. M. Eaton's statement made at Geneva on June 27, 1960.

tests carried out to date. Again, he pointed out that the danger would increase sharply as small nations acquire atomic weapons. Every bit of additional radiation added to the atmosphere means death or deformity for someone living or not yet born.

Earnest Lawrence, another American Nobel Prize-winning scientist, voiced the reverse opinion in May 1957. He said that there is no reason at all for anyone to be the slightest bit nervous about atom or hydrogen bomb tests, because no one is going to get hurt by the tests being carried out. The radiation, it seems to him, is so infinitesimal after an explosion that there cannot possibly be any ill effects. While sincerely hoping that his judgment is completely correct, we still see no reason why tests of this kind, so great a waste financially, should not be banned. Nevertheless, the ban of nuclear tests would not be much conducive to world peace, were nuclear arms not brought under the control of an international organization.

Reviewing the present situation superficially, world tension seems to be centered in the conflict between Moscow and Peking in the Middle East, and in the world rivalry between Moscow and Washington. In fact, it is neither a conflict between Socialism and Capitalism, as many people imagine; nor a controversy between the Russian people and the people of the free world. It is, however, mainly a clash or an incompatibility between two contradictory systems—dictatorship and democracy. At the same time, this incompatibility of two different systems derives in turn from two divergent forms of ideology. Accordingly, the clash between the two camps being entirely an ideological collision, we can hardly find a satisfactory solution either by force or by summit conferences. Force is of no avail, because both sides have a big stick and neither side would yield. The summit talk can get nowhere, because the dialogue between the democratic-minded leaders and Communist dictators resembles exactly the parley between the sheep and the wolf. When the sheep tries to pass resolutions, as Dean Inge humorously puts it, in favor of vegetarianism, the wolf will be strongly opposed to it.

Nevertheless, it does not imply that negotiations should be abandoned altogether and that confrontation is inevitable in the long run. Even a fierce tiger and a brutal wolf may be turned into a tame animal, as is proved true in the circus. Meanwhile, it is not completely improbable that the Communists' sensible leaders

would value reason more than force. As some change in Soviet internal policies is under way, its external course will in all probability follow suit as well.

There is, therefore, some likelihood that we will one day bring the potential enemy to terms through the medium of summit dialogues. It is of course a long and uphill struggle of ideology which can be won only by a new ideological approach rather than by force on the part of the free world. Focusing our attention on building military strength instead of on the ideological race indicates evidently where we have been led astray and why we are deeply immersed in the quagmire of Indo-China. Up to now very few, if any, politicians in the West had thoroughly recognized the significance of ideological struggle. As a result of this negligence, the West lost the battle of propaganda and, worst of all, failed to curb the Communist expansion of psychological war. Consequently, many people were, and are, fooled by such slogans as "the eventual triumph of Marxism-Leninism," "the certainty of the collapse of Anglo-American Capitalism," and "the assurance of the final victory of world revolution." It is most unfortunate that the policy makers of the West overlooked the fact that it is always the power of thought, the mightiest of all, that transforms the world and shapes the destiny of mankind.

"As gas light," said Emerson, "is found to be the best nocturnal police, so the universe protects itself by pitiless publicity."¹² Military power, like political and economic power, rests more firmly upon world opinion than anything else. That "those who control opinion rule the world" should be heeded by all those who proclaim to be the defenders of human freedom and dignity.¹³ The superiority of Soviet nuclear power would of course strengthen the solidarity of the Communist bloc on the one hand, and would lure simultaneously, unless effectively countered by a new strategy of ideological drive, more non-committed countries into the Kremlin's snare.

In fact, 2,400 years ago Mencius, an outstanding philosopher and sage of China, asserted that the secret of winning the world lies in the way of winning the people; the way of winning the people is to win their hearts; and the key to winning their hearts is

¹²Viscount Samuel, *Practical Ethics*, p. 122.

¹³B. and Dora Russell, *The Prospect of Industrial Civilization*, p. 212.

to give them what they like, not to lay on them what they dislike.¹⁴ Had the Western political leaders paid a little more attention to what Mencius hinted, world opinion would no doubt be on the side of the democracies. In consequence of the ideological triumph, not the superiority of nuclear power, the Communist bloc would under the powerful world opinion reconcile with the West. Only under these circumstances can confrontation be equally replaced by reconciliation.

To set the oppressed people free from Communist enslavement by virtue of a new ideological drive based on Co-wealthism should by no means be pooh-poohed as mere wishful thinking. Apart from the ideological supremacy of the West there is hardly any likelihood for bridging the gap between the two hostile blocs. Allowing the stalemate to continue as it is today would result in anything but blessing of the world. The progress of space exploration might, in a way, enhance the national prestige. With the launching of Sputnik in 1957 the Soviet Union seemed to be a step ahead of the United States in the field of space technique. The world was then astonished beyond measure at the Russian scientific achievement.

Nevertheless, the whole world was even more astonished when the American astronauts landed on the moon on July 20, 1969. On August 13, 1960, the United States introduced a new era in world communication by placing in orbit a balloon satellite 100 feet in diameter. The 136-pound satellite, called Echo 1, immediately proved its worth by bouncing a recorded message by President Eisenhower, in crystal-clear fashion, between stations Goldstone, California, and Holmdel, New Jersey, a distance by land of 2,400 miles. It glittering in the night skies with the brilliance of a bright star, started its journey 1,000 miles above the earth. So far as space communication is concerned, the United States is evidently ahead of the Soviet Union.

Probably we all agree that the arms race, no matter who the winner may be, cannot, as I have made it quite clear, remove the fear of war unless the war-psychology is replaced by a peace-psychology, which can be fostered only by mighty world opinion resulting from an all-out ideological drive. As soon as the whole world, through the all-pervading publicity of Co-wealthism, begins

¹⁴*The Works of Mencius*, Book IV, Part 1, Chap. IX.

to discard the outmoded Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Bible, we shall see the dawn of a new era of peace.

(C) *Formation of World Government.* The outcry for peace is as old as history. Both East and West have, ever since the ancient ages, produced many thinkers striving for the realization of a happy and peaceful world—a paradise on earth. In the period of Chun Chiu (722-481 B.C.), the Chinese philosophers of the most noted schools—Confucianism, Mohism, and Taoism—are all strongly opposed to war. The history of Chinese philosophy indicates that not a single philosopher in the pre-Chin period, except the Legalists, did advocate or support chauvinism or aggressive militarism.

Apart from the Legalist philosophers, war is unanimously condemned by Chinese philosophers. Mencius declared: "When contentions about territory are the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the fields are filled with them. When some struggle for a city is the ground on which they fight, they slaughter men till the city is filled with them. This is what is called 'leading on the land to devour human flesh.' Death is not enough for such a crime."¹⁵

Mo Tzu, the founder of Mohism, focused his pacifism on "universal love." He tolerates no hatred, no personal injuries, and no contentions, let alone war. He said: "Now when every one regards the states of others as he regards his own, who would attack others' states? Others are regarded as self."¹⁶

Lao Tzu, a leading philosopher of the Taoist school, condemns war as vehemently as both Mencius and Mo Tzu. He says: "He who is in harmony with Tao, and assists the ruler, will not threaten the world by military force. Such things are apt to recoil. Wherever armies passed through, briars and thorns grow. In the wake of great campaigns bad years are sure to follow. . . . Truly, it is because arms are instruments of evils, which forever are loathed by all things, that one has the Tao has no concern with them. . . . He who takes pleasure in the slaughter of man, will never get his will in the world."¹⁷

¹⁵*Ibid.*, Chap. 14.

¹⁶Y. P. Mei, *Mo-tse—The Neglected Rival of Confucius*, p. 89.

¹⁷*The Book of Lao Tzu*.

Similarly, war is opposed and condemned by Western philosophers as well. In addition to their censure by writings, they have also tried to insure peace by institutions. For the purpose of securing peace ancient Greece set up an organization called the Amphictyonic Council. In 1031 the priests initiated the "Truce of God" to mitigate the disaster of war. Besides, the Grand Design of Henry IV, the Proclamation of Peace of Nicholas II, the Holy Alliance after the Napoleonic wars, and the League of Nations founded in 1919, were all aimed at maintaining a lasting world peace.

Every peace movement in the past has failed despite its pure motive and enthusiasm on the part of the promoters. The causes of failure may be attributed partly to the fact that all participants of the peace organization did not give up the notion of absolute sovereignty, and partly to the inadequacy of sincere cooperation. Each nation sought her own interest regardless of the well-being of other nations. At the same time, the peace organizations, including the existing United Nations, have hitherto been devoid of a real world parliament composed of people's representatives of various lands. It is no wonder that the world organizations, short of active participation of people's representatives, are bound to fail.

The United Nations has done a great deal in promoting the well-being of the world. This organization is, in fact, the only symbol of world peace, despite its weakness and incapacity for settling international disputes thus far. Robert Menzies, former Prime Minister of Australia, suggested that the United Nations needs drastic procedural changes; otherwise, justice will not be achieved in this organization. Particularly at the time of the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the inability of the United Nations to take effective action invited sharp criticism. Indeed, it is unjustifiable to assign equal voting power to a great nation like the United States, and a small one like Yemen. The right of veto, for instance, has been abused time and again by the Soviet Union to frustrate the important resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, the bloc system of voting characterizing General Assembly ballots is anything but approbative.

The rapid expansion of UN membership has made the situation more complicated. The total membership has now increased from 51 to 131 in 1951 and 149 in 1972. 40 of the newly admitted nations are members of Africa; the Afro-Asian bloc amounts to

one-third of the total UN membership. The 22-nations of Latin America group, formerly the largest in the UN, remains with the same membership without increase since the UN was born. The Soviet bloc, which added four members in 1955, and with Mongolia's entry in 1961, has a total membership of ten and it always votes as a unit. The Soviet bloc up until now was not in a position to manipulate the Afro-Asian bloc, but nobody is sure about its future in consideration of the fact that the Soviet Union has been doing its best to encourage the neutral nations of the Afro-Asian bloc to side with the Soviets. Thus, the UN would sooner or later be dominated by the Kremlin were no change made with regard to its structure.

Many critics are of the opinion that one of the great shortcomings of the UN is that its members are inclined to play politics rather than abide by Charter ideals. So long as the UN remains what it is today, obviously it cannot be expected to ensure peace, since its decisions are based upon a majority vote of nations who are mainly concerned with their own national interest rather than the commonweal of the world-family as a whole. In contrast with the opinion that the UN Charter needs drastic overhauling, Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary General of the UN, suggested that the UN could be strengthened more readily through multi-lateral diplomacy than through changes in the Charter. Furthermore, he felt that because of the present situation it is impossible to look for the sudden magical creation of a superstate.

While there is no likelihood of turning the UN into a world government overnight, I am still convinced that peace would be something up in the air forever if the existing UN could not be transformed into a world government. The UN has failed to do anything to stop the Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia; to end the war in Indo-China; to bring about a peaceful settlement in the Middle East; and to deal effectively with the crime of the aerial hijackings by the Palestinian terrorists. Evidently, the UN in the past two decades has totally failed to develop adequate machinery to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," as promised by the preamble of the Charter. In a twenty-fifth anniversary address earlier in 1970, Lester Pearson, one of the architects of the UN, warned that it would not survive to the age of fifty unless it could strengthen its machinery to maintain

peace and security. Henry Cabot Lodge also pointed out that, because of the inability of the UN to act when the interests of the superpowers clash, there had been a dramatic drop in public support for the UN in the United States. So far as its machinery is concerned it is quite doubtful whether the UN could be improved in such a way as to be strong enough to settle international disputes from now on.

Nothing could be more deplorable than regarding the formation of a world government as mere illusion. Expecting peoples of different color, nationality, creed, and cultural background to live harmoniously in a big world-family is, of course, not easy. Nevertheless, let us reflect for a moment on the history of two big nations—China and the United States of America. Prior to Chin Shih-huang's first unification of China in 221 B.C., China was divided into a number of small independent states fighting one another for supremacy from time to time. In the old days China, entirely isolated from other continents, was itself a vast world. Accordingly, the Chinese government, since the first unification, is in fact a sort of a miniature of world government.

Since 1776, the Americans have succeeded in forming a federal government composed of 50 states. Each state resembles in no small measure an independent country in Europe, in view of the fact that each state, like European nations, has its independent legislature and administration. Now if the 50 states in America can live together under the banner of a federal government, there is no reason why Europe cannot be united as well. By the same token, there is no reason why the whole world cannot be united under the leadership of a world government.

The real obstacle lies in the divergence of ideology rather than economic or political issues. The examples of international cooperation are numerous. The worldwide General Post Union was formed in 1874; the worldwide Telegraph Union was created in 1875; the International Bureau of Weights and Measures was formed in 1875, too; the Railway Traffic Union Charter was signed in 1890; and many civic organizations in respect to medicine, education, and science have also been founded on a worldwide scale.

At the same time, the conflict between democracy and dictatorship, between nationalism and internationalism, between the notion of absolute sovereignty and that of relative sovereignty

cannot but be considered the enormous hindrance to the formation of a world government. Only when the vast majority of the thinking men in various lands are thoroughly conscious of the imperative need of national interdependence, can the ideal of a world government be materialized. As soon as one realizes that isolationism and ultra-nationalism are obsolete as well as unfeasible in the age of interplanetary communication, one is bound to be a faithful adherent of world government whose foundation relies upon the co-existence, not the non-existence, of nations. Furthermore, a real world government, if it is to be a competent one, must rest on a triple basis: supra-national loyalties, justice and power.

In fact, the lack of supra-national loyalties and power is exactly the weakness of the existing United Nations. Inasmuch as the UN is devoid of unanimous moral support together with the overwhelming power to put its resolution into effect, the UN finds itself entirely incapable to get any international dispute settled satisfactorily. There is no likelihood at all, under the present circumstances, of its being more powerful in the days to come unless it is turned into a world government.

An actually effective world structure must be formed in accordance with the following measures:

- (1) Some basic principles in relation to the organization of world government should be laid down and be submitted to the UN General Assembly for approval.
- (2) to set up a preparatory committee for the purpose of carrying out all the procedures related to the structure of the new world organization.
- (3) The said committee should select a group of experts on international law to draft a workable world constitution.
- (4) The world constitution should cover the following items:
 - (a) The highest legislature of the world government is the world congress, which consists of representatives elected by member nations. Every small nation is entitled to produce three representatives, every big nation six representatives. A country whose population totals more than 40,000,000 is

regarded as a big nation, whereas a country with a population of less than 40,000,000 is termed a small nation. The representatives' tenure of office is three years, but may be continued for another term if re-elected.

- (b) The supreme administration of the world government lies in the executive committee, composed of fifteen members elected by the world congress. Each member's tenure is two years and may be continued for another term if reelected. The said committee is headed by one chairman and two vice-chairmen whose tenure is the same as that of the committee members.
- (c) The world government consists of the following organizations:
 - 1. Department of Industry and Agriculture;
 - 2. Department of Culture and Education;
 - 3. Department of World Welfare;
 - 4. Department of World Economy;
 - 5. Department of World Medicine and Sanitation;
 - 6. Department of World Food;
 - 7. Department of World Communication;
 - 8. Department of Environment Improvement;
 - 9. Department of World Population Control;
 - 10. Department of Police Force;
 - 11. Planning Board of Eugenics;
 - 12. Committee for the Control of Atomic Energy and Nuclear Arms;
 - 13. World Court;
 - 14. World Bank.
- (5) The chairman and vice-chairman are assisted by a secretary-general and a deputy secretary-general, nominated by the executive committee and approved by the world congress with a tenure of three years. But they may serve for a second term if re-elected.
- (6) In the wake of the institution of the world police force follows the curtailment and eventual disbanding of the army, navy and air force of all

member countries. In order to maintain peace and order every nation may retain a small number of police. Such police shall not amount to more than 150,000 in each big country, or more than 50,000 in each small country.

- (7) All nuclear weapons such as atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, anti-ballistic missiles, MIRV, etc., should be submitted to, and controlled by, the world committee. And hereafter no member state, big or small, should be allowed to manufacture such weapons. This is strictly forbidden under the penalty of economic sanctions.
- (8) Atomic energy should be used for peaceful purposes such as adjusting the weather, improving the soil, bettering the environment, exploiting the wasteland, constructing marine cities, developing the North Pole and South Pole, and preventing such natural calamities as hurricanes, earthquakes, floods, droughts, epidemics, pestilences, etc.

The world government differs from, and is far more powerful than, the present United Nations in this: the former will be completely free from the frustration of the veto and from the manipulation of one or two superpowers. Moreover, the former, with the institution of a standing police force, along with a world congress, will be enabled to enforce its resolutions so as to get all the interstate disputes, whatever they may be, settled fairly. The main power of the world government lies in the world congress which, being the supreme legislature of the world citizens, stands for world opinion in every respect, and to which, as a supra-national parliament, is entrusted a part of the sovereignty of each member nation, so far as the legislative, executive, and judicial rights are concerned.

Formerly, many tasks concerning interstate welfare were entrusted to the disposition and control of the world organization; thus, there would not be much difficulty in entrusting more power to the world government for the furtherance of the commonweal in the interests of the whole of humanity. With the unprecedented development of air communication today, the people living on this

planet might enjoy before long a tour of inspection along the orbit of the earth by boarding a missile. Even taking a vacation trip to the moon or building a space colony is no longer a dream.

On March 2, 1972, an American spacecraft, Pioneer 10, was launched on the first mission to explore the environs of the planet Jupiter. This unmanned spacecraft, according to the space agency official, would reach Jupiter in 21 months—the longest and most far-reaching interplanetary voyage of the Space Age. This spacecraft was traveling 31,413 miles an hour. Jupiter is the largest planet in the solar system, a roiling bulk of primordial gases and clouds 318 times the mass of the earth, and the possible habitat of some life forms. It is 525 million miles from the earth. The Pioneer 10 could probably reach Jupiter in December 1973 and take the first close-up pictures of the mysterious planet. This dramatic fact indicates that the earth on which we survive is so small that the world government on the tiny planet exactly resembles, as I pointed out previously, a village council so far as the position of earth in the boundless universe is concerned.

Undoubtedly we shall be ridiculed by the next generation for our inability to live together under a world regime. Should we regard the setting up of a world family-like structure as something inconceivable at a time when the world has become so tiny that we can readily circumnavigate the earth in a few hours by flying a supersonic aircraft, not to say flying a spacecraft like Pioneer 10? Of course, what we need most urgently on the part of the statesman in various lands is a sort of new statecraft based on imagination and ideals.

I concur with Dr. Stanley Hoffman, Professor of Government at Harvard, who has observed: "Statecraft demands imagination, guided by two convictions: one, that the world made safe for diversity must insure the co-existence, not only of rival social systems, but also of multiple, freely defined national interests; two, that whatever frustrations a great power experiences daily in attempts at control, the way it behaves shapes the behavior of others. A narrowed pursuit of the national interest will be a blessing only if it is defined in long-range terms and with due respect for the interest of all others."¹⁸

¹⁸Stanley Hoffman's article "Statecraft Demands Imagination," *The New York Times*, March 7, 1972.

The eventual success and effectness relies upon the close cooperation of all member nations, especially the superpowers. All big countries, like the Soviet Union, China, India, and the United States of America, must set a good example to other nations by serving the world government in a spirit of self-sacrifice—and, most important of all, by regarding the promotion of the world's common interest as the supreme duty. Having learned a good lesson from the failure of the United Nations, every nation, strong and weak, thoroughly realizes that, short of a real world government based on sincere cooperation, there would be disaster for all.

In a dynamic society institutions, like ideas, are subject to the law of transformation. It is, therefore, out of place to interpret what will happen in terms of what has happened. Henri Bergson in his *Creative Evolution* maintained that for a conscious being, to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is going to creating one's self endlessly. For Bergson all reality is time and duration, becoming and change. This, it seems to me, is an invaluable lesson for those inflexible Communists who unyieldingly stick to the outmoded Marxism-Leninism.

Ideological stubbornness gives rise to political inflexibility, social intolerance, and religious bigotry. Man, in order to enjoy peace and prosperity, should break the shackles of thought-control, set himself free from the fetters of rigid dogma, and be frankly ready to follow the philosophy of change so as to live harmoniously together with his fellow human beings in the world-family. Everybody, especially the obdurate Communists, must be open-minded enough to accept new ideas so that a lasting peace in the world-family may be insured.

Although the conflict between dictatorship and democracy seems to be a great hindrance to peaceful co-existence, it does not follow that there is always an impassable gap between the Communists and free nations. From the point of view of human relationships the people of various lands, regardless of race, creed, nationality, or regime, are all lovely creatures. During my tour in the Soviet Union in 1926, I was deeply impressed with the warmth and hospitality of the Russian people, though I was not in favor of the Communist regime. My admiration of the Russians' great culture together with the great people has not been, and will never be, affected by the difference of political institutions. Ob-

viously, on the good will, mutual understanding and mutual love among all peoples depends the solid foundation of a long overdue world government.

With drastic change in the Anglo-American economic order during the past fifty years or so, the so-called Anglo-American Capitalism, as I mentioned before in these pages, has been transformed to such an extent that it is nearer to Co-wealthism than anything else. Simultaneously, Communism in the Soviet Union as well as in her satellites has also undergone considerable change of late. The transformation of collective farming in Poland is a case in point. The slogan "different roads to Socialism" hints also that Marxism-Leninism of the Soviet pattern is undeniably subject to modification in the course of social evolution. Despite the Chinese Maoists' opposition to revisionism, what Chou-En-lai has recently been practicing both internally and externally evidently reflects a tendency toward revisionism. Especially Chou's turn-about in foreign policy—from isolation to an open-door approach—cannot be interpreted other than as his moving to the road of revisionism; otherwise, the ping-pong diplomacy should in no way have been initiated in 1971, nor should President Nixon's trip to Peking have materialized in February 1972.

Taking it by and large, many Chinese Communists in particular, and other adherents of Marxian Communism in other countries in general, who are tired of the anachronistic Marxism would in all probability turn their interest to Co-wealthism. That a man of reason is no longer inclined to be enslaved by illogical and rigid dogma is simply natural. Our duty today is to convince the whole world, let alone the Communists, that, were Marx living today, probably he would not subscribe to what he advocated a century ago, and that he would most likely concur with us that the existing Anglo-American economic order should not be termed Capitalism. Meanwhile, as Marx himself was an intelligent and well-learned scholar, he would not be so obstinate to persistently boycott new ideology, as most of the stubborn Communists are doing.

(2) *Creation of a New Civilization*

(A) *An Answer to both Pessimists and Fatalists.* Whenever we have a chance to chat with people, occasionally we find that

some pessimists and fatalists, who are highly educated and full of social experience are not only skeptical of world peace and world government, but also of all problems in relation to the universe and human life. Their world conception is based on pessimism on the ground that "The lasting Heaven and vast Earth," as Pei Chu-yi, a distinguished Chinese poet of the Tang dynasty, said, "will one day come to an end." What the poet pictured concerning the world is, for these pessimists, not groundless guesswork at all so far as the modern astronomer's viewpoint is concerned. The notion that the world in which we live will, after a certain age, perish has long been confirmed by Allan Sandage, astronomer of the Carnegie Institute.

The sun, according to Sandage, is doomed by the accumulating ashes of its fires. It has reached now about half the normal lifetime of its kind of star—approximately 6,000,000,000 years from its beginning. On this planet, Sandage says, we have another 6,000,000,000 years to live. Theoretically, when 12 percent of the fuel has been exhausted the star no longer can compensate for its increased helium content by small changes but must increase drastically in radius. At this point, it is near the end of its life because it swiftly increases in luminosity, consumes its remaining hydrogen at a tremendous rate, and finally sinks into obscurity and death when the sun reaches four times its present radius. As the sun continues to expand, it will brighten and will drive the temperature first above the boiling point of water and then turn to the melting point of lead. At the earth's greatest brightness the earth's temperature will reach more than 800 C., life will have ceased, the oceans will have boiled away.

Now that the life of earth, the pessimists think, will one day come to an end, why should man worry about the problem of peace, world organization, human welfare, progress, etc.? Apart from the pessimistic cosmology there is another group of people who believe that everything in the universe cannot escape the domination of the law of causality. Every cause gives rise to an effect, and every effect is always preceded by a cause. As long as man is inevitably under the influence of this law, no one can be free from the sway of determinism or fatalism.

Man, living in a mechanical world and following natural law, is absolutely devoid of free will. As the plants and animals live in the circle of birth, growth, maturity, decay, and death; so is

the progress of human life, social, national, and cultural. Civilization, which has been undergoing many processes of ups and downs, is now transferring from the stage of decay to the last stage of death. It is beyond human power to remedy it by dint of new order, however idealistic it may be, so far as determination is concerned. Furthermore, all institutions, political or economic, are related at all points to the problem of human nature which remains still unsolved in consequence of the backwardness of social science.

Wars and struggles between human beings are, for the determinists, unavoidable at any rate, since they are instinctive and so deeply rooted in human nature that they, however one may persistently try, cannot be eradicated. The so-called peace is nothing other than a daydream. As early as 2,500 years ago Confucius preached peace, heart and soul. But has war ever been prevented in China and her neighboring countries? "Love ye one another," a new commandment given by Christ 2,000 years ago, is still today an ideal waiting for a chance to be realized. "Peace! peace!" declared the pessimists and determinists. "What a ridiculous phantasy!"

The encounter of pessimists and fatalists everywhere is not something surprising nowadays. It would be a tragedy if the majority of the people were unfortunately led in the direction of determinism and pessimism. One point of great significance should not be overlooked. Man, however subject to the impact of heredity, environment, and the law of causality, is not a dead machine. Accordingly, he, as a living creature, possesses free will which enables him to break up the bondage of heredity, environment and the law of causality.

Sir Arthur Eddington, a great physicist in Britain, denies the law of uniformity and declares that there is at work a "principle of uncertainty"; that chance reigns at the heart of nature; and that this has a bearing upon the question of human free will. "If there is no law," says Arthur Eddington, "regulating the most elementary processes of nature, why should we suppose that there is any law regulating the highest and most complicated processes."¹⁹

In fact, not only can the determinist's view not be accepted

¹⁹Viscount Samuel, *Practical Ethics*, pp. 167-177.

as infallible, even exact science such as physics and mathematics, the basic laws of which are generally believed to be beyond skepticism, cannot be considered either unchangeable or unfailing. With regard to mathematics Bertrand Russell says: "Pure mathematics consists entirely of assertions to the effect that if such and such a proposition is true of anything, then such and such another proposition is true of that thing. . . . Thus mathematics may be defined as the subject in which we never know what we are talking about, nor whether what we are saying is true."²⁰

Of course, we can hardly deny that human nature is made what it is with heredity and environment. When the fatalists maintain that "all things are predetermined," actually they refer mainly to the impact of both heredity and environment. Let us remember, however, that defects caused by heredity may be remedied to a large extent by eugenics; and the unsatisfactory environment may be turned into a desirable one by eugenics and ecology. At the same time, with the progress of genetics, biochemistry, psychology and physiology, one's habits and disposition can be formed and modified through, for instance, the process of "conditioned reflex." Of late, endocrinology has thrown some light upon the relation of the endocrine glands to the formation of man's mentality. The exchange of sexual organs between female and male animals will, it has already been established by experiments, affect not only their sexual behavior but their emotions and feelings.

That mental and physical functions affect each other is an undeniable fact. As physical functions are often influenced by mental functions, so the latter are not free from the sway of the former. It is known to all that whoever suffers from flatulence or heartburn is more apt to be out of humor and hot-tempered than any physically sound man. In fact, even one's character is more or less affected by one's physical traits. L. Berman in his *Glands Regulating Personality* holds that glands, though belonging entirely to the physical realm, are related to the molding of character.

It is untrue to maintain that human nature is unchangeable. Its change can readily be established by the betterment of custom,

²⁰Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, pp. 75-76.

law, political institutions, and, most important of all, the advance of civilization. Human civilization would have long ago deteriorated, were it not for the improvement of morality, which is obviously the outcome of the evolution of human nature. Many old customs and traditions which were inhuman and extremely barbarous have disappeared today. It is through the development of knowledge, together with the growth of moral sense, that the progress of civilizations is made possible.

Can we justifiably say that the growth of moral sense has nothing to do with the change of human nature? Why, then, should we bow our heads before both fatalism and pessimism?

Taking it for granted that human nature cannot be changed overnight, its transformation needs a long time. Nevertheless, the axiom maintained by the behaviorist is that what is called personality is merely the totality of habits. Habits, as being the basis of morality, can, according to the behaviorist, determine in no small measure man's character. Notwithstanding that behaviorism is not a completely sound psychology, some of its viewpoints are indisputably justifiable, especially its stress on the close link between habits and character. Nobody can deny that habits, good or bad, play an important part in the shaping of human nature, which would be a vacuum short of constantly acquired habits. If instincts may be interpreted, as the behaviorists do, as habits, then the so-called war instinct would at least be within the capacity of our control by dint of habits. Consequently, as soon as the habits of fighting are replaced, wars, civil and international, may be brought to an end in the long run.

Moreover, what we term thought or ideology may also be interpreted in terms of habits. A man would have no thought whatsoever were he left in his babyhood on an isolated island without inhabitants with whom he could acquire habits through the medium of imitation, learning, and other hetero-suggestions. Evidently, habits are the main source of thought or knowledge. Of course, the empiricists regard experience rather than habit as the fountain of thought or knowledge. But what is the content of experience apart from habits? Above all, the proverb that "habit is the second nature" holds good forever.

Peace or war is simply the product of man's thought, or of habit if you like. Thus, there is very little, if any, likelihood of waging war if everybody is actually opposed to it. In other words, the abolition of war depends upon the transformation of thought,

rather than a thorough change of human nature. It is, therefore, illogical to maintain that war is inevitably a permanent factor in human life so long as human nature remains unchanged.

The truth of the above argument is well established by V. Samuel, who says that the history of England records that, during the period of 126 years from 1689 to 1815, the country was at war against peoples of European race in 63 of these years—exactly one year in every two. Then there came a change of ideas, a change of constitution, and a change of principles of British foreign policy. In the 99 years between 1815 and 1914, there were five years of war and 94 years of peace. Human nature presumably remained much the same. Yet wars such as in the 17th and 18th centuries were regarded as inevitable, were found in the 19th century not to be so.²¹

As for the fate of the earth and the sun, there should be no ground for worry at all. Granting that what the astronomers predict about the future of the earth is not groundless, still there is no necessity for our anxiety concerning the life of the earth and sun. With the scientific advance of the past 200 years the whole world has been under tremendous change materially as well as intellectually. Today we are living a kind of life undreamed of by our forefathers, to whom the present-day refrigerator, radio, television, air-conditioning, atomic energy, interplanetary communication, moon landing, etc. would have been inconceivable. No doubt there will be numerous new inventions and new scientific breakthroughs in the next 50 or 100 years, so fantastic that they are entirely beyond the power of our apprehension today. According to the estimation of astronomers the sun can live for another 6,000,000,000 years. Even if it could survive for only 60,000 years, there is no reason for us to worry. In the next 50 or 100 years inter-planetary travel will most likely be as easy as is today's communication from America to Europe. 15 years ago an American expert predicted that a rocket may be launched to hit the moon. His prediction has materialized today. The Russians did it successfully in 1959, and the Americans first landed on the moon in 1969. Again, it is not impossible, the scientists point out, to build an artificial sun by putting a thermonuclear device into an artificial satellite which would shed light over those regions of the planet where the darkness of the Arctic night hovers

²¹Viscount Samuel, *Ethics*, p. 176.

for six months or so. This baby sun would shed heat sparingly over some areas, but would burn with intensity over others if needed to change the area's climate. The artificial sun would travel at an altitude of thousands of miles. Now that we have already launched artificial satellites into outer space, there is likelihood that we may invent another sun in twenty or thirty years.

Even if the inhabitants on earth could not emigrate to another planet on account of lack of living creatures on it, the scientists would be in a position to overcome all difficulties and hardships confronting us on earth.

Fifty or a hundred years from now, probably there will be no hurricane, no flood, no drought, no pestilence, and no famine because of the universal application of atomic energy together with all technological know-how for peaceful purposes. After 50 years what appears to be miraculous today will be commonplace by that time. Taking the recent space exploration, for instance, the scientific and technological advance is marvelous. An American spacecraft, Pioneer 10, was launched on March 2, 1972 on the first mission to explore the environs of the planet Jupiter. This unmanned spacecraft should reach Jupiter in 21 months—the longest and most far-reaching interplanetary voyage of the Space Age.

As a result of the improvement of medical science the average human life may most likely be prolonged to 150 years. Meanwhile, there will be, as I pointed out previously, new methods derived from endocrinology and new psychiatry for the control and modification of emotion and sentiments so as to make human nature more benevolent and more others-regarding.

The high-speed automatic computing machine invented and widely used in the United States is in fact a kind of mechanical brain which, with rudimentary organs of memory, judgment, and mathematical logic, has produced considerable changes in social and intellectual life in America as well as other industrial countries. It is no longer wishful thinking that we shall in the next 50 years or so invent another type of mechanical brain to check upon our behavior and character as accurately as the computer solves equations, so that our moral life may be elevated to such a level as to permit us to live together peacefully with all races in the world-family. So long as we can keep ourselves free from depravity, world civilization would survive and advance indefinitely.

Every man is an architect of his own fortune. In other words, destiny and character should be regarded as synonymous in the sense that our destiny is actually determined by our character. The kind of character gives rise to the kind of destiny. God gives every bird its food, but does not throw it into the nest. A man of firm faith and strong will is not only the maker of his own fate, but the producer of the destiny of mankind.

(B) *Civilization of Tomorrow*. Unrest and tension, national and international, originate from prejudice and suspicion which breed, in turn, strife and war. The causes of war, apart from political and economic disputes, are attributable to the sense of cultural and racial superiority. The Chinese Boxer uprising, an anti-foreign campaign at all points, would never have occurred in 1900 but for the deep-rooted sense of cultural and racial superiority. Half a century ago the Chinese ruling class and the ignorant masses of the people were so prejudiced and so arrogant that all foreigners to them were contemptible as well as barbarous. Prior to World War II, Hitler's anti-Jew campaign was also based on the wrong idea that the Jews are an inferior race not entitled to live among the Germans, the best race of the world in Hitler's judgment.

The notion that the world is one, and all men belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*, has been generally agreed upon by scientists. On July 19, 1950, the UNESCO issued a "Statement on Race" by Ashley Montagu. This pamphlet, a collective study of a group of authoritative scientists from five continents, clarifies the whole concept of race. After a comprehensive study they are led to the conclusion that the scientific investigation of recent years fully supports the dictum of Confucius (551-478 B.C.): "Men's nature is alike; it is their habits that carry them far apart." The anthropologists unanimously recognize that mental characteristics of all races are essentially similar, though physically the difference is conspicuously great. If dissimilarities are found in mental traits, they are mainly due to the impact of various environments, training, and educational backgrounds. In other words, given a similar degree of cultural and educational opportunities to develop their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same. At the same time, it is scientifically established that inherited genetic differences are not a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and the cultural attainments of various races.

Charles Darwin wrote in 1875 in his *The Descent of Man*: "As man advances in civilization, and small tribes are united into large communities, the simplest reason would tell each individual that he ought to extend his social instincts and sympathies to all members of the same nation, though personally unknown to him. This point once reached, there is only an artificial barrier to prevent his sympathies extending to the men of all nations and races."

Anyway, the sense of racial and cultural superiority should be removed root and branch, in view of the fact that men do not differ in their innate mental characteristics, and that race mixture does in no way produce bad results which, if any, are to be traced to social factors. Every man is a part of the race and every race is a branch of the whole tree—mankind. Consequently, the history or culture of every nation is also a part of world civilization. Western civilization owes its origin and growth in great measure to the Eastern impact, and vice versa. In fact, the glory of one country is exactly the glory of the other. Probably nobody would agree with Thomas Browne, who says: "All can not be happy at once, for the glory of one state depends upon the ruin of another." Indeed, the level of civilization anywhere depends upon the level of civilization everywhere. "A country which seeks only its own aggrandizement," says V. Samuel, "arouses abroad a general hostility, which sooner or later, as all history shows, will bring it to disaster. An aggressive patriotism does not serve the ends of patriotism, so is not patriotism at all."²²

Mankind, in order to avoid destruction, must create a new era based upon a new civilization which differs from the old in that the old civilization is the mixture of the works of both devil and angel. By works of the devil I mean the evils and sufferings resulting from Totalitarianism, Militarism, 19th century Capitalism, Imperialism, Ultra-nationalism, Fascism, Communism, etc. On the contrary, by works of the angel I imply that the freedom and dignity of man have been reserved and enjoyed up until now by a great part of humanity under the rule of democracy.

In spite of the unprecedented progress in science and technology by which human beings are further enabled to achieve greater conquest as well as better use of nature, they are all at a loss to understand how to conquer their inner enemies within

their hearts. As a result, man seems to march to the valley of death. Nowadays nearly every man is mentally tortured one way or another with the fear of total annihilation by nuclear warfare. In other words, nobody feels secure and happy, because nobody is able to predict what will happen tomorrow. All people, East and West, are in a state of tension and emergency. The terror of the unpredictable colors the life of every man; the continuing strain, uncertainty, and suspense, and the continuing crisis of irrational reactions to that strain, are eating away at man's confidence in himself.

This horrible tragedy must, if the world civilization is to survive, be brought to an end as soon as we can. Otherwise, most of the people in various lands will probably be mentally ill in consequence of perpetual malcontent and melancholy. It is, therefore, imperative to substitute a new civilization for an old one. The way of achieving it must, however, be sought in the implementation of Co-wealthism on the one hand, and in the formation of a world government on the other. Today is, in fact, the turning point of world history. This is time for mankind to make a final decision between the two alternatives; existence or destruction.

Now that both mankind and civilization, despite the differences of race, language, and living standard, are basically identical, there should be no difficulty for people living together peacefully as the members of the same family. Some people may be not in favor of the Soviet's political system, but they like the Russians, along with their arts and literature, as much as their own. Every nation, great and small, has made a contribution in advancing world civilization. Accordingly, every nation deserves our love and aid so long as it is ready to cooperate with us in striving for the realization of the common ideal. "*Homo homini lupus*" is an indisputable fact that cannot be overlooked; however, it is happily only one side of the picture. The other side of it, as presented by Sigmund Freud, is rather encouraging. He says: "From one ethical standpoint, the deeper motivation of which will later become clear to us, the inclination towards an all-embracing love of others and of the world at large is regarded as the highest state of mind of which man is capable."²³

Were Mencius living today he would in all probability say that his axiom that human nature is good has received recognition

²²Viscount Samuel, *Practical Ethics*, p. 183.

²³Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, p. 70.

from a psychoanalyst. Prior to dealing with the know-how of creating a new civilization, it is of necessity to bring forth briefly the exact meaning of civilization. Numerous definitions of it have hitherto been brought to light by many a scholar, but the most concise and appropriate one, it seems to me, is that of S. Freud; though he uses the term "culture" instead of "civilization."

Freud says: "The word 'culture' describes the sum of achievement and institutions which differentiate our lives from those of our forebears and serve two purposes, namely, that of protecting humanity against nature and of regulating human relations among themselves."²⁴ Freud, like many other thinkers, frankly admits that in the last generations man has made extraordinary strides in the natural sciences and has established his dominion over nature in a way never imagined before. While man is proud of the remarkable success of the natural sciences, he is beginning to perceive that this newly-won power over space and time has by no means made him any happier. Contrarily, with the newly won power over space and time, men are made more unhappy everywhere.

There is no need to further illustrate the present-day danger that our social sciences lag behind the natural sciences. As a result of this lag, we are still unable to regulate human relations in such a way as making all peoples get along on good terms with one another, in spite of the fact that we are in a position to subdue the forces of nature to a far larger extent than in the last century. On the readjustment of human relations depends the destiny of the world. And any readjustment would surely be a sort of castles in the air were it not actually worked out through such measures as I have suggested in these pages. By a new moral code alone we can hardly build a new civilization, however much we may wish to do so. It goes without saying that a general mobilization on a worldwide scale, coupled with the pooling of the first-rate brains of all scientists and thinkers, is of necessity. The man of ideals must cooperate with the man of action. Such a gigantic movement as that is neither a task of days and weeks nor a task of a few individuals. By and large, it is the task of the whole of humanity.

Undoubtedly, the destiny of mankind is going to be shaped in no small degree by the big and powerful countries such as the

United States, the Soviet Union, China, etc. On the sincere cooperation of these powers hinges the security of mankind. Particularly the two superpowers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., must and can make a far greater contribution than other nations in the way of creating a new world civilization based on a lasting peace and universal prosperity.

A new world civilization may be brought about in accordance with the basic ideal of Co-wealthism, which calls for the ending of confrontation between fellow human beings; for constituting a happy world-family, which is free from oppression and enslavement; and for ensuring individual liberty, national prosperity and international cooperation. This common goal, one might call it a dream or utopia, can in no way be materialized short of a world government which is the foundation of a new world civilization.

Of late, there is much talking in the Soviet Union about a possible landing on Mars. The article, "A Stroll Around Mars" by V. Bronshten, which appeared in Moscow's *Tekhnika-Molo-dezhi*, is an imaginative mental excursion on this planet that has for so long fascinated mankind. Another article, "Are There Rational Beings on Mars?", by Docent F. Zigel, in Moscow's *Zharniye-Sila*, is of equal interest. Mr. Zigel quotes several Soviet scientists such as V. V. Sharonov, N.N. Sytinskaya, and G. A. Tikow to support his contention for the past or present existence of rational beings on Mars. He is not, however, quite sure whether the Martians are millions of years ahead of earth-beings in national development or millions of years behind. He insists the canals on Mars were actually built in a recent geological and climatic era. And he uses the layout of the canals to conclude that there are no national boundaries on Mars, and thus presumably the Martians are all of one political and ideological outlook. In other words, there is, for Mr. Zigel, a planet-wide unity and cooperation among the inhabitants of Mars.

It would no doubt be another new era in the history of human civilization were Mr. Zigel, together with other cosmonauts' dreams proved true. But what is the use of entertaining our hope in landing on Mars while we are unable to solve so many crucial problems on earth? There is no point to talk about the planet-wide unity and cooperation of the inhabitants on Mars, unless we ourselves on earth are free from strife, wars, or threat of wars. Un-

²⁴*ibid.*

fortunately, it is highly unlikely that there are living beings on Mars because it is extremely cold, arid and oxygenless, so far as the recent studies of Mars indicate.

Another urgent problem more alarming than anything else is the population explosion. At the present rate of growth the estimated world population in the year 2,000 will reach 6,280,000,000, or more than double in forty years. This increase imposes more difficulties to raise the miserably low standards of living of two-thirds of the world's inhabitants. Calculations show that Asia, merely to maintain her present low level of living (a per-capita income of \$50 per year) must increase her aggregate product by 60 percent between now and 1975, and by an additional 75 percent between 1975 and 2000. The situation in Latin America and Africa is more or less the same. How are we going to tackle effectively this urgent problem? Time and again the Communists have boasted of the superiority and the eventual triumph of Communist system. Furthermore, they are proud of their achievement in nuclear power. However, they seem to have forgotten that the people in the Communist countries have been constantly complaining of the low standard of living. With dictatorship, bureaucracy, topheavy economic organization, the cumbersome distribution system, all-out state control, together with an unpopular farm policy, the Communist rule gradually gives rise to grave embezzlement of state property and acute shortage of food. This, again, has forced the Kremlin to reintroduce capital punishment for "idlers, speculators, and persons who engage in illegal private enterprise."

The Soviet Union as a whole has had only 87 percent as much meat as in 1960. In Ukraine the meat supply was 20 percent less than in the corresponding period of 1959. In the central Asian Republic of Kirgizia the meat supply dropped to 42 percent below 1960, the newspaper Soviet *Skaya Kirgizia* reported on April 27, 1961. Up to 1970, the Russian productivity has been lagging behind the West, especially in the field of agriculture.

In fact, a new world civilization can be built through the cooperation of all nations, especially the superpowers, in the joint effort to prevent war, to halt the arms race, to fight against such common enemies as disease, poverty, ignorance, etc., to substitute internationalism for extreme nationalism, and to turn the United Nations into a more effective world government. Prior to our

stroll around Mars, let us first of all get the most urgent problems on earth solved so that humanity can live in peace. It is, of course, a long way to go, but it is no longer unrealistic. What we need mostly are faith, courage, determination and farsightedness. Let us all sing in chorus with Henry W. Longfellow: "Look not mournfully into the past; it comes not back again. Wisely improve the present—it is thine; go forth to meet the shadowy future, without fear and with a manly heart."

In short, to make the world secure, happy and prosperous has long been the common goal of mankind. The implementation of this common goal relies mainly on man's will to change. Short of change, no progress can be expected; no outmoded ideology can be replaced; no corrupt institution can be removed; and no new world order can be molded. Fortunately, the clamor for change is now getting more momentum everywhere. Political leaders in Washington call for reconciliation instead of confrontation. Authorities in Moscow insist on peaceful co-existence rather than belligerent antagonism. The Nixon-Brezhnev agreements reached in May 1972 indicate the beginning of change.

That the American flag flies over the Kremlin and Peking airport heralds the possibility of rapprochement systems. What Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia told Mr. C. L. Sulzberger on May 25, 1972 stands for the present moods of many progressive people among the Communists. Tito asserts: "Practice in the past has shown that changes are necessary. We are dialecticians and we know that what is good today or necessary today becomes neither as good nor necessary tomorrow."²⁵

With regard to the significance and imperativeness of change, one should refer to The Book of Changes (*Yi Ching*), one of the ancient Chinese classics, which maintains that the world of being arises out of their change and interplay—the continuous transformations of the one force into the other. The universe, as the *Yi Ching* conceives it is the process of change which is becoming and creative. Confucius illustrated it in the *Analects* by saying: "Everything flows on and on like this river, without pause, day or night." This is exactly what makes civilization improve continuously.

²⁵C. L. Sulzberger, "Josip Broz: Rebel in the Revolution," *The New York Times*, May 26, 1972.

Chapter VII

REMEDY FOR A SICK WORLD

Nobody can deny that the present world has been suffering from various sicknesses which are, if not cured in time, fatal to all nations, big and small, strong and weak. Three common formidable enemies of mankind—poverty, disease and ignorance—have inflicted boundless misery on human beings since the beginning of history. Despite the advance of civilization, along with the unceasingly fierce battle against these three enemies, the whole of mankind, irrespective of color and nationality, are even up to now still plagued by them though in different degrees in different places. Nevertheless, the world sickness, no matter whether it is man-made or natural, is not incurable. The reason why it has not been completely cured may be attributed to the inadequacy and incorrectness of prescription given by those whose diagnosis as well as treatment were erroneous.

Both man-made and natural disasters are, fortunately, not beyond the power of man to control. Thanks to the progress of science and technology we are now in a position to revitalize the sick world to such an extent that the three common enemies of mankind will undoubtedly be conquered sooner or later. As it is a long and uphill fighting, it needs unanimous effort of all nations and it cannot be won overnight. The world sickness may and may not take a favorable turn. It depends entirely upon the effective prescription. The remedies proposed in previous chapters require further illustration and complement.

(1) *War against Poverty*

There is no solution whatsoever to the problem of poverty so long as the gap between population and food remains the same as before. World population is growing by approximately 70,000,000 a year or 8,000 every hour. In 1965 world population totaled 3.3 billion; it will grow to more than 5 billion in 1985. Food production is not keeping step with the expansion of population. Latin America, for instance, increased its total production of food over the last five years, yet with 25 million more people, the average individual had 7% less to eat. Only 7.7 percent of the land surface of the earth is cultivated. This explains why half of the world's population is poorly nourished.

With the unprecedented progress of science the poverty-stricken world may in the not-distant future be turned into an affluent world. While things cannot be generated from nothing, many formerly unusable things are now being made usable, such as synthetic gasoline, cheap inorganic fertilizers, plant hormones, atomic energy, newly-discovered marine products, etc. Meanwhile, men from the vast oceans, which cover over 70 percent of the surface of the earth, can extract far more fish and shellfish than the present annual output of 20 million tons. Both fish and shellfish, like oysters, mussels, and clams, can be increased in large quantity by cultivation. The annual crops of these marine food under favorable conditions, as Harrison Brown points out, may exceed the yield of meat obtainable from the best agricultural land.¹

At present the approximate estimation of annual world production of food is as follows:

Cereals	300 million tons
Milk	200 million tons
Fruits and Vegetables	155 million tons
Roots and Tubers	150 million tons
Meat	65 million tons
Pulses and Nuts	35 million tons
Sugar	30 million tons
Fats and Oils	15 million tons
Total	950 million tons

¹Harrison Brown, *The Challenge of Man's Future*, N.Y. 1962, p. 126.

Obviously, in order to increase food to meet the requirement of growing population, more unused land must be cultivated. Apart from the desert, the Arctic, and stony mountains, which cannot be cultivated, agriculture may be extended into the podsol areas of the north and into the areas of red soils of South America and Africa.² Moreover, R. M. Salter has hinted that 300 million acres of northern soil and one billion acres of tropical soil could be cultivated.³ As a result of research by plant breeders, agricultural biochemists, plant pathologists, and soil chemists, many crops had tremendous increase in acreage output. In the United States, for instance, the output of wheat, oats, and barley has increased from 10 to 25 percent per acre in consequence of the application of new farming know-how.

Food production can be further increased by careful breeding, selection, and hybrid seeds coupled with the use of insecticides. Harrison Brown tells us: "On the husbandry side, we in the United States are now raising 12 percent more pigs per litter than we were a quarter of a century ago, and their body weights have been increased about 25 percent without increasing the feed. The body weights of beef cattle have been increased by 15 percent without increasing feed. The use of antibiotics has reduced mortality of chicks and has promoted more rapid growth. An understanding of balanced rations for chickens has resulted in many more eggs per hen per year."⁴ With adequate supplies of moisture, crop yields may be lifted. In regions where rainfall is rare irrigation is of great significance. Throughout the world only 200 million acres are under irrigation. Given more effort an additional 200 million acres of deserts and near-deserts could be irrigated, and the world food production might be doubled if supplemental irrigation of one billion acres of land now being under cultivation together with additional irrigation of 200 million acres of desert land could be brought about effectively.

Some experts are of the opinion that world food production can be increased, even without the development of new land, by such measures as prevention of land erosion, application of plant breeding, agricultural biochemistry, etc. At the same time, food

²*Op. cit.*, p. 134.

³R. M. Salter, in *Science*, May 23, 1947.

⁴Harrison Brown, *The Challenge of Man's Future*, p. 137.

supplies could in all probability be increased by soilless culture, by the use of artificial light, by huge greenhouses, by hydroponics, by controlled atmospheres enriched in carbon dioxide, and by exploitation of marine products, both plant and animal. Many marine plants can be used as food. Considerable quantities of algae have, for instance, been consumed in Japan. Harrison Brown is optimistic with regard to the problem of food supply. He observes that the world food production could be more than doubled should 50 million acres of tropical land be devoted to the algae culture.⁵ As world population will probably reach 4.8 billions in another 50 years, food production has to be two and one-half times greater than it is today.

Of course, if people's food habits could be changed, as Harrison Brown hints, in such a way that the people of the world were content to derive their main nourishment from the products of farms and yeast factories, it would not be impossible to support a world population of 50 billion. To develop an acre of new land and make it highly productive requires 50 dollars, and to make an acre of old land more productive requires approximately 20 dollars. Accordingly, it needs an investment of about 30 billion dollars to cultivate 1.6 billion acres in the undernourished half of the world. An investment of about 60 billion dollars would be required for developing 1.3 billion acres of new northern and tropical lands.

The consumption of energy is as vital as the consumption of food to the maintenance of human existence. A world with a population of 3 billion would consume energy at a rate equivalent to the burning of about 30 billion tons of coal per annum. The present rate of world coal production totals only 1.6 billion tons per annum. The energy derived from petroleum totals about one-half that derived from coal. World coal resources are just as limited as world food. According to the 1938 estimate the world coal reserves are as the following:⁵

Europe	800 (billion metric tons)
Asia	2000
North and South America	4300
Oceania and Africa	200
Total	7300

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 145.

The world consumption of energy in 1950 was equivalent to burning 2.7 billion metric tons of coal per annum. On the average, one person annually needs energy equivalent to burning over one ton of coal. About 60% of world energy was obtained from coal; 30% from petroleum; 7% from wood fuel; and 1% from water power. According to Harrison Brown's estimation the United States consumed about 60% of the world's petroleum output, and over 25% of the world's water power. Annually the energy consumed by every person in the United States is equivalent to burning over 8 metric tons of coal. In Europe, exclusive of the Soviet Union, every person annually consumed the equivalent of 2.5 tons of coal, and in Japan per person annually consumed the equivalent of over one ton. The rest of Asia, with nearly one-half of the world population, the annual per-capita consumption of energy from coal, petroleum, and water power is equivalent to burning about 100 pounds of coal. This is approximately two days consumption per capita in the United States.

Furthermore, energy can also be obtained from both the rock and the sun. One ton of average granite contains about 4 parts per million uranium and 12 parts per million thorium. Should all the uranium and thorium be extracted from 1 ton of rock and burned in a nuclear reactor, the energy release would be equal to that derived from burning about 50 tons of coal. The amount of energy the earth receives from the sun in a year is far greater than all the energy derived from fossil fuels. Harrison Brown points out that the heat from the sun can be trapped by permitting it to impinge upon a blackened metallic surface after passing through a pane of specially treated glass. The glass reduces the escape of heat into the air. The more panes of glass used, the more efficient is the trapping. It is known to all that the sun's rays may be concentrated on the focused mirrors and its high temperature may operate a steam boiler. Electricity can also be produced from solar energy. Of course, it costs much more. It was estimated that electricity might be produced directly from solar energy in Arizona at a cost about 2 cents per kilowatt-hour. It costs one-and-one-half cent more than the cost from the coal-operated generators.⁶

Even if world food production could be increased to a large extent, the poverty problem would not be solved unless the popula-

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 180.

tion growth were effectively controlled. If population growth continued to double every 37 years, there would be some sixty million billion people on the face of the earth in 2000. On each square yard of the earth's surface there are about 100 people. While the doubling time of population is various in accordance with the rate of its annual percent increase, the new mouths to be fed are far more than food supplies.

Annual percent increase	Doubling time
1.0	70 (years)
2.0	35
3.0	24
4.0	17

I am sure everybody concurs with Prof. Paul R. Ehrlich that the world population will grow continuously if the birth rate exceeds the death rate. Population growth can be controlled either through the measures to lower the birth rate or by means of raising the death rate as a result of epidemics, famine, and war.⁷ From the point of view of humanitarianism the death rate must be lowered as much as possible. To this end, we must do our best to avoid epidemics, famine and war.

Birth control can be brought about by such methods as contraceptives, new intra-uterine devices, voluntary sterilization (male and female), and abortion. Reliable contraceptives are available in nearly every country. The new oral contraceptive is being used in the United States by five million women. New intra-uterine devices are being tested widely and results prove them safe and effective. Their advantage over other contraceptives is that they can be left in place for months or years without attention. Voluntary sterilization, especially male sterilization (vasectomy) is fairly widely practiced in some countries. In the United States alone 200,000 people are sterilized every year. Vasectomy is a simple procedure. It may be done easily, rapidly and painlessly. The patient walks in, walks out and goes about his affairs. No after care is of necessity and no hospitalization. Moreover, it is not castration and it does not affect sexual relations at all.

⁷Cf. Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, New York, 1968.

Abortion is also an effective measure of birth control and it should be legalized universally despite strong opposition of the Catholic Church. It is mainly due to the practice of legal abortions that Japan cut its annual birth rate in half within a decade—from 34 per thousand population in 1947 to 17 in 1958. Legal abortion is a safe and simple procedure, only one-sixth to one-tenth as risky as pregnancy and childbirth, according to Dr. Christopher Tietze of the National Committee on Maternal Health of the United States. Those who bitterly oppose legal abortion on the ground of humanitarianism fail to realize that it is far more humanitarian to maintain population stability through legal abortion with a view to preventing the eventual condemnation of millions of future citizens to lives of underprivilege, misery, and hopelessness.

Apart from birth control, another way of easing the threat of population explosion lies in the discovery of new food resources. There is not enough meat, cereal and fish being harvested on the earth. It is estimated that 10,000 people die each day of malnutrition for lack of adequate protein in their diets. Of late, it is revealed in the *New York Times* that high-protein food, created in laboratories, is starting to enter the consumer's diet. The laboratory-produced food is called Single Cell Protein, and it is one of the newest in a line of man-made protein foods that are derived from the chemistry set rather than the pig, pond or peapatch. SCP, as a new kind of food, is a tasteless, odorless mass of edible micro-organisms that are treated, dried and fed to animals. Toxic effects have been minimal. Most likely SCP may in a few years become human food. Meanwhile, some other new high-protein foods engineered in the laboratory, such as spun soybean fiber and synthetic amino acids, are already filtering into the American consumer's daily diet. In fact, spun soybean fibers doctored to taste like real meats are being test-marketed in several Northern and Eastern states of America, often without the consumer's knowledge. Dozens of hospitals, prisons, public restaurants, schools and industrial cafeterias are using such "meat analogues" in their recipes.

It is estimated that within a decade or so imitation meats will develop into a \$2-billion industry in the United States alone. At present 26 major oil companies in the United States are en-

gaged in SCP research, trying to find an economical way to grow micro-organisms and "bugs" on petroleum products.⁸

Our serious poverty problem can also be partly solved by the wide reuse of wasted materials (recycling). Garrett De Bell points out that each ton of paper, aluminum, or iron reclaimed from waste is a ton less needed from our forests and mines, and a ton less solid waste in our environment.⁹ Recycling means that resources be used over and over again and cycled through human economic-production systems in a way that is similar to the cycles of elements (carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, etc.) in natural ecosystems. The present produce-and-discard production system, with its one-way flow of materials from the mine or farm through the household and into the garbage dumps, air, and water, poses a great threat to the environment and exacerbates the degree of material scarcity. Undoubtedly, the universal practice of recycling would help solve the problem of poverty in no small measure. Probably recycling, when developed to a large extent, would require an industry as large as the present automobile enterprise; and it would furnish many new jobs for people who are out of work.

(2) *War against Disease*

Despite the unprecedented progress of medical science, human beings are still agonized and killed by various diseases. Our civilization is far from being satisfactorily advanced so long as the whole world is constantly menaced by the affliction of disease. This common enemy—disease—can and should be completely conquered through the collective effort of medical scientists, along with the cooperation of all governments throughout the world. First of all we must pay more attention to ecology. In an environment whose air, land, and water are polluted, nobody can enjoy a healthy and happy life. After 30 years we shall find the earth is uninhabitable if air pollution is getting worse continuously.

Pollution is a world problem and is closely related to the

⁸Cf. Sandra Blakeslee's Report, *The New York Times*, March 1, 1970.

⁹Cf. *The Environmental Handbook*, p. 214.

degree of industrialization. The more highly industrialized countries are more menaced by pollution. Prof. R. Stephen Berry of the University of Chicago warns that, 50 years hence, if nothing effective is done to avoid the threat, there will be enough carbon dioxide in the atmosphere to create greenhouse effect, melt the polar ice-caps and inundate the coastal cities. In fact, all would be inundated together if the polar icecaps are melted as a result of a greenhouse effect.¹⁰ In the United States alone eighty species of wildlife that once lived in the country are now listed as extinct. Another 78 species, from the timber wolf to the bald eagle, are in danger of extinction. In November 1969 many people died from smog in Chicago.

In consequence of proliferation of combustion processes in industry, power plants, automobiles, and waste disposal, the air pollution is getting more critical day by day. Something approaching 200 million tons of contaminants, according to Washington officials, are now hurled into the atmosphere every year—an increase of about 58 million tons in five years. Water pollution in the United States is as serious as air pollution. Every second, day and night, about two million gallons of sewage and other fluid waste pour into the nation's waterways. President Johnson said in 1967 that "every major river in the country is polluted." The pollution comes mainly from community sewage, industry and agriculture.

Solid waste is also a big problem in America. On the average, every person generates about seven pounds of trash a day. According to Washington officials, only about 5.32 pounds of this is collected. All waste amounts to 530,000 tons a day, and it is hard to find adequate space to bury all the refuse. Although millions of square miles in the country are available, it is far from cities. While chemicals have revolutionized agriculture, spurring food output and helping to ease man's burden, their side-effects agonize the ecologists. Noise is another environmental hazard, and it costs the United States four billion dollars a year in accidents, absenteeism, inefficiency and compensation payments.¹¹

¹⁰Cf. C. L. Sulzberger's article, "The Enemy Who Is Us," *The New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1970.

¹¹Cf. Gladwin Hill's Report, *The New York Times*, April 20, 1970.

According to the Report of Gladwin Hill, mercury pollution has proved a widespread hazard. Evidence of abnormal amounts of mercury in water, fish and game birds has turned up in at least 33 states. Mercury, traditionally considered an inert metallic element and casually released into the environment by industry and other users, was discovered in 1969 in potentially poisonous forms and quantities in the Great Lakes. Undoubtedly there is a possible accumulation of millions of tons from past generations throughout most of the United States. It is known that even minute quantities of mercury, under certain circumstances, can have dreadful physiological effects, and that, like some pesticides, mercury moves along the natural "food chain" from water and plant to fish, birds and humans in ever-increasing concentrations.¹²

As every industrially-developed country is threatened by pollution, so is the Soviet Union. The Kremlin has shown increasing awareness of the nation's environmental problems. But its effort to solve them, like other countries, have been sporadic thus far. The conservationists view their victory on Baikal as significant, but they point out that their struggle has only begun. Conservation experts warn that the air around the nation's cities is beginning to be poisoned with the noxious fumes of industry, that many of its lakes and rivers are threatened with contamination, that its forests are being cut without adequate restoration plans, that its wildlife is being depleted by indiscriminate hunting and trapping.

In April 1970, the Moscow government announced a comprehensive legislative program to preserve water and curb its pollution. The program covers industrial pollution, sewage disposal, and the contamination and dehydration of lakes. It proposes criminal and administrative penalties for infractions. Under the program individual enterprises guilty of polluting water with fertilizers or chemical insecticides could be closed and the water supply of offending enterprises could be curtailed. In short, no industry, agricultural enterprise or individual would be immune from the provisions.

¹²Gladwin Hill's Report, *The New York Times*, Sept. 11, 1970.

Sources of Air Pollutants, 1965								Pollutant Levels			
Sources	Millions of tons per year	Percent of total	Millions of tons per year					Component	Content in clean dry air, near sea level	Average daily content (E. 121 St., Manhattan except where noted)	Government standards
			Carbon Monoxide	Sulfur Oxides	Hydro-carbons	Nitrogen Oxides	Particles				
Autos	86	60%	66	1	12	6	1	Carbon Monoxide	.1 parts per million	Varies widely. Midtown streets often exceed 15 ppm during business hours.	30 ppm for 8 hrs. or 120 ppm for 1 hr. (Calif.)
Industry	23	17%	2	9	4	2	6	Oxidants	.02 ppm	.04 ppm	Average of less than .10 ppm for 24 hrs. (N.Y. S.)
Electric Power Plants	20	14%	1	12	1	3	3	Nitrogen Dioxide	.001 ppm	.09 ppm	.25 ppm for 1 hr. (Calif.)
Space Heating	8	6%	2	3	1	1	1	Sulfur Dioxide	.0002 ppm	.111 ppm	Annual average of less than .03 ppm (suggested N.Y. S.)
Refuse Disposal	5	3%	1	1	1	1	1	Suspended Particulates		124 micrograms per cubic meter (average for all Manhattan)	Less than 80 micrograms per cubic meter (N.Y.S.)
Total	142	100	72	26	19	13	12	Hydro-carbons		2.5 ppm (average for 6 large cities)	

WATER

Polluted Waters of United States

Source: Nat'l Wildlife Federation



Typical Water Pollutants

Pesticides

DDE
DDT
Dieldrin
Endrin
Heptachlor
2, 4-D

Radioactive Materials

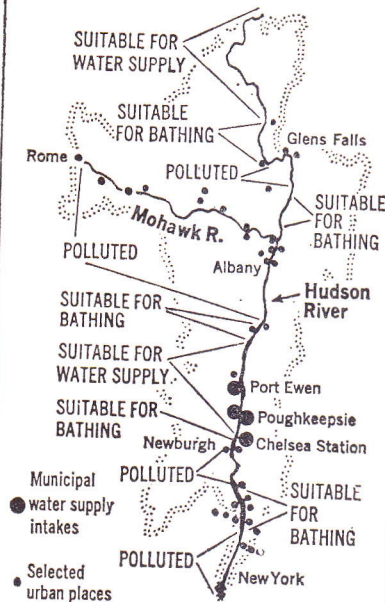
Radium-226
Strontium-90

Chemicals

Acids
Alkalies and hydroxides
Ammonia
Arsenic
Barium
Boron
Cadmium

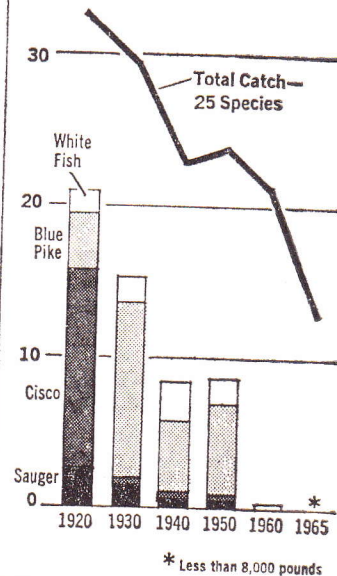
Chlorides
Chromium
Copper
Cyanides
Dissolved gases
Detergents and dyes
Fluorides
Hydrogen sulfide
Iron
Lead
Manganese
Nitrates and nitrites
Nickel
Phenols
Phosphorous
Potassium
Selenium
Silver
Sulfides and Sulfates
Tars
Urea
Zinc

Hudson River Water Supply and Pollution



Commercial Fish Catch in Lake Erie

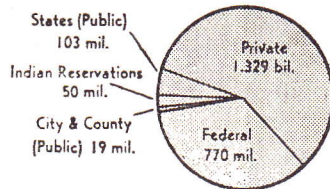
Millions of pounds



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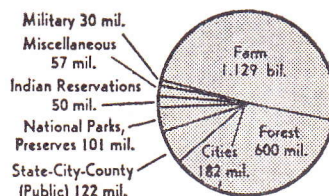
LAND

Who Owns Land



Total: 2.271 Billion Acres

How It Is Used



Total: 2.271 Billion Acres

1900 1940 1970

Acres of Land Per Person _____ 26.3 _____ 15.2 _____ 9.5

Shift of Population to Cities

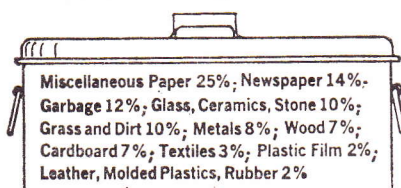
Total Population _____ 76 mil. _____ 132 mil. _____ 204 mil. (est.)

Per Cent Urban Population _____ 40% _____ 59% _____ 75%

Number of Cities Over 1 Million _____ 4 _____ 10 _____ 25

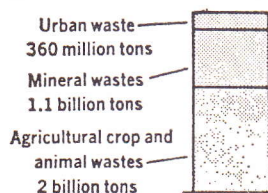
SOLID WASTE

Composition of Typical East Coast Municipal Refuse



Source: U.S. Public Health Service

Waste Generated in the U.S. Per Year: 3.5 Billion Tons



How Garbage Waste is Disposed of, By Weight

Open Dumping _____ about 73%
Incineration _____ about 15%
Sanitary Landfill _____ about 8%
Salvage _____ about 3%
Composting _____ about 1%

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Obviously, the outcome of uncontrolled air pollution would be a city uninhabitable by all but cockroaches and rats. It requires a lot of money to deal with the problem of pollution. But the loss, both material and spiritual, suffered by humans as a result of pollution is beyond calculation. In the United States alone, lost income and medical bills paid by people who suffer from respiratory and other ills caused by air pollution amounts approximately to 4 billion dollars a year.

Governments of various levels in America are doing more than ever before in curbing the menace of pollution through research and legislation. All 50 states now have water-quality standards and are setting up air-quality regions across the country to implement air-quality programs. For instance, New York City is considering shipping all the garbage to centralized burners which would not only be equipped with the latest pollution controllers but would be designed to utilize the heat from the burning for the production of steam. New York City is also designing a combination water treatment-incinerator plant for the Brooklyn Navy Yard, which will produce steam to be sold to Con Edison. Now that the automobile is the worst polluter, New York City is planning to reduce the number of automobiles through the medium of mass transportation. It has been suggested that the city might build nuclear plants in the Lower Harbor so as to provide electricity and steam heat to be piped to apartment houses and office buildings throughout the city.

The cost for curbing pollution is of course tremendously great. In the fiscal year 1970 Washington assigned 830 million dollars for water quality, and spent 163 million dollars on air pollution, though it is far from adequate so far as the scope of the pollution is concerned. Since air and water pollution is an international problem, the United Nations should draft an international agreement controlling sources of existing or potential pollution. The proposed international pact should prohibit ships from discharging oil into the oceans; ban or curtail the use of certain pesticides such as DDT; and establish a worldwide network to monitor the atmosphere and the oceans.

Former President Lyndon B. Johnson warned when he signed the Air Quality Act of 1967: "We are pouring at least 130 million tons of poison into the air each year. Either we stop poisoning our air or we become a nation in gas masks, groping our way

through dying cities and a wilderness of ghost towns." To this earnest warning all nations, especially those who are highly-industrialized, must pay serious attention; and take action promptly in the way of solving this urgent problem. I am sure man is in a position to control the suicidal technology which is blighting the air he breathes and the water he drinks, before it exterminates him.

When the environment is made more livable the epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhoid, influenza, diphtheria, tuberculosis, etc: will be mostly, if not entirely, stamped out. As a result of the progress of medical science together with the discovery of new medicine, many diseases that were considered incurable are brought under our control. In 1969, for instance, there was not a single death in the United States from polio and only nineteen cases of paralytic polio were reported in the entire country.

Cancer kills thousands of men and women every year, and it is still beyond the doctor's capability to get it controlled as effectively as expected. While having thus far not found any effective remedy despite painful and long-standing research in various countries, the possibility of curbing cancer seems to be greater than before. Princeton University announced on November 7, 1970 that biochemists have stopped cancerous behavior in cells taken from animals and have restored the cells to normal.

The discovery was made in laboratory experiments using a plant protein called Con A, or trypsinized Concanavalin A. This protein treated under laboratory conditions appeared to have an effect on the runaway multiplication of cancerous cells. Dr. Max A. Burger, an associate professor of biochemical science, said: "What is most interesting is that for the first time we have found that we can stop the wild multiplication of cells without completely killing them. And, although we have not tested the process for an eternity, we have found that a single dose of Con A prevents cancerous behavior for as long as the cell remains alive in vitro for six days."¹³

Of late, two breakthroughs in cancer research are seen by scientists. The discoveries were announced on November 23, 1970.

¹³"Report from Princeton University," *The New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1970.

The American Cancer Society reported that Dr. Ludwik Gross, chief of cancer research at the Bronx Veterans Administration Hospital in New York City, had successfully immunized guinea pigs against leukemia. By injecting extracts of leukemia cells under the skins of guinea pigs, Dr. Gross succeeded in making animals highly resistant to later injection of leukemia cells. The technique does not apply to the prevention or treatment of leukemia in man. Nevertheless, with further tests already under way, Dr. Gross is convinced that theoretically it should be possible to devise conditions under which immunization based on this principle will be safe and applicable to other species and ultimately perhaps to humans.

Another breakthrough was reported by the National Cancer Institute, which said that a team of its scientists had found what appeared to be a key factor in the change of normal white blood cells into cancer-bearing cells. By spotting this factor in a patient's blood, a physician can diagnose leukemia in an early stage when it can most easily be treated. If this approach is successful it might provide a true cure not only for leukemia but for other types of cancer as well. Now the plans are being made to continue the work with experimental animals. Should the experiment be found effective and safe, then it will be tried on humans.¹⁴

Numerous people are still victims of blindness, heart-attack, liver and kidney illness. Thanks to the outstanding feats of medical research and experiment, thousands of people have had their vision improved by receiving transplants of corneas from the eyes of deceased persons. Millions have benefited from blood transfusions, which is itself a form of transplantation. Of late, significant gains have been achieved in the cases of liver transplants. At the same time hundreds of kidney transplants have been performed with considerable success. Moreover, since 1968 we have entered into an era of human heart transplants, though still in the period of experimentation.

Dr. Philip Blaiberg was the first patient to receive a heart transplant. He has lived with a new heart 19 months and 15 days. By contrast, B. Russell, Jr., a junior-high schoolteacher in Indianapolis, became the first man in history to live for 2 years with a

¹⁴"Hopeful Signs in the Battle against Cancer," *U.S. News and World Report*, Dec. 7, 1970.

transplanted heart. In 1970 an impressive record was amassed at the Stanford Medical School where 35 percent of the patients who received hearts from Dr. Norman Shumway's team have survived a year or longer. One patient has lived as long as B. Russell.¹⁵

That man's emotion, reason and behavior can be controlled by electrical forces is no longer a dream. Dr. Jose M. R. Delgado of Yale reported that, by fitting radio equipment into a chimpanzee's brain, he has developed a technique which permits a computer to make a specific change in the test animal's brain waves. Undoubtedly, it is the first step down the road toward the nightmare vision of a brain-controlled population. Dr. Delgado has over the past decade reported using electrical stimulation to stop a charging bull, to make a female monkey reject her children, and to perform other similar feats. Dr. Delgado's work is aimed, as the editorial of the *New York Times* comments, at finding new techniques to help those stricken with mental illness, epilepsy and such afflictions, not to create some future super-totalitarian state.¹⁶

It is encouraging that the soaring rate of chronic lung diseases in the United States can be stopped by a new antibiotic, plus a long-distance diagnosis by computer. Doctors at the Menorah Medical Center in Kansas City, Mo., have found that asthma, bronchitis and emphysema may be combatted in two ways: (1) Early diagnosis to stop the diseases while they are readily treatable. (2) Suppressing infection in already ailing lungs. A new antibiotic—doxycycline—is used to fight infection at Menorah. Tests have indicated that the drug is highly effective, easy to administer by mouth, and has few side effects such as nausea and rash which often accompany other antibiotics.¹⁷

With the increasing new discoveries in medicine and treatment technology, coupled with the effective prevention of air, water and land pollution, man will certainly win the war against diseases sooner or later. In order to accelerate the triumph of conquering this common foe, more attention should be paid to medical research; more funds should be assigned for the training of doctors and nurses; and more medical colleges and hospitals should be established.

¹⁵Cf. *The New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1970.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1970.

¹⁷*U.S. News and World Report*, Dec. 14, 1970, p. 46.

(3) *War against Ignorance*

When Socrates maintained that virtue is knowledge, he exactly warned that man could hardly behave morally short of knowledge and understanding. It is perfectly plain that many evils result from ignorance, which is undoubtedly the source of misunderstanding, suspicion, fanaticism, intolerance, hatred, bigotry, jealousy, cruelty, fighting, violence, etc. Discord in the family, disturbance in man's mind, lawlessness in the society, tumult in a nation, unrest and belligerency in the world may all be attributed to man's ignorance. Despite the increasing calling for the development of education, there are 100 million more illiterates in the world today than there were 20 years ago. The world illiterates today amount to 800 million.

Every community everywhere is not free from fear. Everybody cannot but worry about his or her personal security either at home or abroad. At home one may be threatened by robbery, rape, murder, bomb explosion and other violence. Abroad one may while travelling by plane be distressed by hijackers; and no matter wherever one goes one cannot be sure what unfortunate events would befall him, in view of the prevalent unrest in every country resulting from the ignorance of fanatics, bigots, racists, extremists and other law-breakers. It is impossible for human beings to live together peacefully unless and until the whole society is no longer menaced by fanaticism, brutalism, racism, parochialism, bigotry and intolerance.

All this anti-social and immoral behavior reflects one way or another the failure of modern education. The common goal of education must be the fulfillment of an ideal "*pro bono publico*." To this end, the world's educators should from now on leave no stone unturned to bring about a new education based on a philosophy that will enable man to remold his thought as well as his life. That what kind of society we expect to have depends on what kind of education our children receive is absolutely true. Children living in a space age should no longer be imbued with ultra-nationalism. A genuine patriotism is to "love the other's country as my own country"—a kind of patriotism advocated by Mo Tzu two thousand years ago. National survival relies on national interdependence. A citizen of a certain country must be taught to be loyal to his own country as well as the other's. Ac-

cordingly, the new education has to be centered on the cultivation of cosmopolitanism, by which alone our national consciousness will be broadened into international consciousness.

Cruelty among individuals and war between nations result from hatred. The key to substituting love for hatred lies in the inculcation of humanitarianism and altruism. Through altruistic and humanitarian education the new generation may be expected to live a life of harmony, kindness and compassion. Self-centered and possessive impulses will be replaced by others-regarding and creative impulses. Mankind then will all realize that strife for individual interest rather than common good will be denounced; that war waged by one nation against another will be unanimously condemned; that social well-being will enjoy greater concern than personal benefit; that the prosperity and prestige of one nation will by no means be enhanced at the expense of another nation's; and that world peace and national security are inseparable.

Meanwhile, new education will no doubt lead the people turning from the "road to serfdom" toward the "road to freedom." With the development of new education, individual potentials will be fulfilled and, most important of all, the genuine value of life together with the dignity of man will be fully realized and elevated. A new education as such, however, can only be brought about by resorting to the implementation of liberalism. In fact, it is liberalism that will enable man to keep himself free from the enslavement imposed by totalitarian regimes; free from the shackles of inequitable economic systems, free from the prison of self-conceit and self-deception; and eventually free from the bondage of dogmatism and chauvinism. In short, the new age is calling for the rising of new education based on cosmopolitanism, liberalism, altruism and humanitarianism. We may term it CLAH education, which stands for four essential ideals whose realization would create a new era for mankind.

The fact that the whole world, East and West, is seriously sick plainly indicates the grave morbidity of modern industrial civilization. By the extraordinary development of scientific knowledge, man is unprecedentedly benefited as well as horribly threatened nowadays. The ironic and paradoxical fact is that, while President Nixon was hailing in July 1969 the lunar landing as "the greatest week since the creation," New York City was afflicted with a combined breakdown in central power supply, the telephone

system and railroad transportation. By this contradictory fact man is bound to doubt the soundness of modern scientific civilization. Taking the automobile as an example: it furnishes man with a tremendous convenience for traveling; at the same time it also brings terrible disaster to man. Apart from its pollution to the air it is also the instrument of death. In the United States alone the automobile has taken 1.75 million lives since 1900, far more than were lost in all the wars of this country. In 9 years the Americans who died in the Vietnam War amounted to 40,000. During the same period the Americans who died by auto accidents totaled 437,000—eleven times as many.

Industrialization brings tremendously huge wealth to us; meanwhile, it causes unprecedented problems such as unemployment, inflation, depression, constant strikes, etc. Atomic energy might create a paradise on earth, but it might also destroy the earth overnight. Nevertheless, science itself is not responsible for all the evil consequences; rather it is the man who, on account of ignorance and selfishness, uses the scientific know-how wrongly for destructive purposes.

We must find an effective remedy for the sick world if we want to continue our survival. The remedy must be sought by scientists, whose solemn obligation lies in the discovery of new methods to stop the nuclear holocaust; to curb the population explosion; to win the war of anti-poverty, of anti-diseases, of anti-ignorance; and to make the new technique a blessing rather than a curse of mankind. Many complicated problems, economic and social, can be solved by science and new technique.

Of greater significance than anything else is the use of computers to solve many complex problems which cannot be readily solved by human brains. At the University of Pennsylvania a computer is being used to study the economic, environmental, human and physical factors in relation to the development of the Delaware River Basin. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a "project on the Predicament of Mankind" in which factors believed to govern the destiny of mankind are being programmed into a computer. Prof. Jay W. Forrester of M.I.T. in November 1970 told a House Subcommittee on Urban Growth that evolutionary processes have not given us the mental skill needed to properly interpret the dynamic behavior of the systems of which we have now become a part. Now a computer program

is designed to express the relationship among world population, industrialization, depletion of natural resources, agriculture and pollution.

Let us bear in mind the fact that the marvelous function of the computer is far from being the climax of scientific progress; its advance is infinite. We believe that the further scientific discoveries advance, the greater the hope of mankind. So long as the new technology is used constructively in the interest of human beings at large, no complex problem of the world would be beyond the power of man to solve satisfactorily. In other words, a sick world of today will, with the wide application of new scientific knowledge, be transformed into a real, happy and healthy world of tomorrow.

Chapter VIII

WHAT THE TWO SUPERPOWERS SHOULD AND CAN DO

It is not too much to say that mankind's destiny of today and tomorrow hinges upon the wisdom and will of two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union. Everybody realizes that the nuclear holocaust threatening the existence of mankind must be avoided, that today's urgent problems such as poverty, population, pollution, aid to the underdeveloped countries, cessation of the missile race, and reform of the United Nations must be tackled. Undoubtedly, all these complex problems concerning the survival of every nation can in no way be solved effectively without close and sincere cooperation of the two superpowers.

Despite the differences of political system and interest the two giants have hitherto acted in concert in many ways in maintaining world peace. On Dec. 1, 1959 both countries concluded the Antarctic Treaty. In 1963 the Nuclear Test-ban Treaty was agreed upon. In October 1967 the International Space Treaty was signed. The text of the resolution on defending non-nuclear nations was drafted in March 1968. This is an apparent indication of the possibility for further cooperation between the two superpowers for seeking solutions to other world problems which have to be dealt with promptly. I am not so pessimistic regarding the two superpowers' cooperation as many other observers are, because neither Moscow nor Washington can possibly deny that any significant issue, political or economic, of the present world cannot be settled by a single power. Today is the age of collaboration and interdependence. Isolation is simply unrealistic in every respect. At the same time, both are perfectly conscious of the danger

of being hostile to each other. Common sense convinces them that military confrontation would surely lead to mutual destruction. This fear of national destruction would deter either side from resorting to a nuclear war. By fear alone a lasting peace cannot be secured indefinitely.

(1) *Cessation of Missiles Race*

Continuous living in fear is not only unable to guarantee national security but leads to more suspicion and mistrust. As a result of increasing military preparation, more than a trillion dollars was spent for defense in the past six years. In 1969 the military spending amounted to 80 billions. The nations of the whole world spent about 200 billion dollars for military purposes in 1969. The U.S. military spending of 1971 totals approximately 76 billion dollars. For reasons of prestige and fear of foreign aggression, military spending in the underdeveloped countries is rising faster than their gross national products. Prof. George Wald has pointed out that the United States and Soviet Union have stockpiles in nuclear weapons with the explosive power of 15 tons of TNT for every man, woman and child on earth. Isn't it a terrible waste that such a huge sum of the world's wealth is squandered for destructive purposes?

Spending related to war cost the United States in 1969 more than the combined cost of education, health, housing, agriculture, space, highway, retirement and other programs. National security lies mainly in the solidarity and harmony of the people. By military force alone no nation's security can be completely maintained. It is, therefore, imperative to reduce military expenditure through the medium of disarmament. Now that the continuing development by both sides of multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRV) poses greater disaster for the two superpowers themselves as well as the whole world, it is time for the United States and Soviet Union to reach an agreement on the halt of the missile race. The strategic arms-limitation talks (SALT) between the two giants have been held in Vienna and Helsinki many times in 1970. As late as December 1970 the Soviet Union did not come forth with a detailed counter-proposal to what the United States proposed at the closing phase of the second round in Vienna.

The main hindrance to the progress of SALT lies in mutual fear. Moscow regards American "forward air power" as a component of American strategic forces because it can reach the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons. On the other hand Washington feels that the Soviet Union has tremendous momentum in its programs to deploy SS-9, SS-11, and SS-13 intercontinental missiles, because of their size and their capability of delivering huge warheads. The latest American estimates are that Moscow has more than 300 SS-9s in operation or being deployed. In order to make the SALT a success both sides must remove suspicion and fear and work out a fairly feasible program beneficial to either side.

The American proposal called for a limitation on strategic launch systems with each side free to allocate among land-based missiles, submarine-launched missiles and strategic bombers. Within this overall limit, the United States suggested a quota on giant missiles. Another provision was elimination of antimissile defense systems, or limiting them to no more than 64 sites to protect the areas of national capitals. This is the number the Soviet Union is believed to have emplaced in Moscow and Western Russia. Were the Soviet to agree to what is known as "zero ABM," the United States would have to scrap its partly constructed ABM system in Montana and South Dakota and forego construction at other sites authorized by Congress.

Obviously the risks to the security of either side would be unthinkable great if the missile race, especially the MIRV race, were unrestrained at an early date. There seems to have been not much discussion of MIRV's at SALT. The United States appears to be seeking on-site inspection to verify a deployment ban, a move probably considered by the Soviets as unacceptable. From the economic point of view the missile race would plunge the two superpowers into bankruptcy in the long run. From the military point of view the unrestrained race in nuclear weapons would enhance rather than eliminate the risk of a nuclear war which would result in the total destruction of humanity. Fortunately the strategic arms limitation agreement was reached between Leonid Brezhnev and Richard Nixon in 1972.

(2) *End of Hostilities in Indo-China and the Middle East*

Hostilities in Indo-China and in the Middle East have been intensifying world tension to such a degree that they might hasten

direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. The war in Indo-China is the longest in American history. It has taken 46,000 American lives and wounded 274,000 in the last nine years. The loss of life and property on the part of South Vietnam as well as its enemy is incredibly great. Thus far there is no sign of bringing it to an end either through peace talks in Paris or through military escalation.

From a memorandum presented by Dr. Alexander Heard, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, to President Nixon in July 1970, we understand why the American students are strongly opposed to the Vietnam War. The memorandum points out: "At the root of the opposition to the war in Indo-China is the moral revulsion to the carnage undertaken in our name. Peasant societies are subject to the most awesome destructive technology that man can devise; huge areas are depopulated into free-fire areas; defoliants, pesticides, and herbicides scorch the earth, and bomb craters create a moonscape; great masses of people are uprooted from their ancestral lands and turned into refugees in their own countries, and war spares neither the elderly nor the women and children. Surely such death and devastation are out of proportion to whatever objective we might hope to achieve."

Furthermore, the horribly devastating effects of American military crop-spraying on the land and people of South Vietnam was established in January, 1971 by Dr. Matthew S. Meselson, a Harvard biologist, who reported that at least a fifth of the 1.2 million acres of mangrove forest in South Vietnam has been utterly destroyed, leaving a man-made wasteland that appears incapable of producing new vegetation. Enough food to feed 600,000 people for a year has been destroyed as well as a half-billion dollars' worth of prime hardwood.

War is destructive and the suffering of the conqueror is as great as that of the conquered. From the point of view of humanitarianism, the bloody war should be condemned and checked by all means. The main reason for American involvement in the Indo-China war is that the North Vietnamese invasion in Cambodia and Laos violated their neutrality, and its invasion of South Vietnam infringed upon the independence of South Vietnam. In order to safeguard the freedom and independence of Indo-China, the United States as well as other free nations are obliged to keep that part of the world from being dominated by a Communist dictatorship.

The confrontation in Indo-China is the battle between freedom and enslavement, the struggle against tyrannical terrorism. Putting it in other words, it is a war of upholding democracy.

Accordingly, the United States' commitment in the Indo-China dispute is by no means unjustifiable. On the contrary, both Peking's and Moscow's meddling with a view to exporting Communist revolution throughout Southeast Asia poses an intolerable threat to all free nations, let alone America. The American anti-war demonstrations should on no account be considered the reflection of the public opinion of the masses, especially those who hoist the flag of North Vietnam and burn the flag of the United States in hoity-toity spirits. They are evidently Communist fellow-travelers, if not Communists. So long as their anti-war protest is focused on America alone without laying blame whatsoever on both Peking and Moscow, their accusation wins no approval of the silent majority at all.

Obviously, the longer the war drags on the more the people suffer. Yet there is no indication of an early settlement either by political means or through the channel of military pressure. The only possible solution lies in the compromise between Washington and Moscow. Referring the dispute of Indo-China to the United Nations and insuring the neutrality of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam should not be considered as unrealistic. Only through the intervention of the United Nations, with mutual agreement of the Soviet Union and the United States, can the bloody war in that area be brought to an end. Of course, Communist China would in no way concur with this approach, but Hanoi cannot carry on the war short of Moscow's backing. Consequently, the final solution relies on the cooperation of the two superpowers.

Soviet military aid to Communist countries amounted to about \$12.7 billion in 1955-1970. The largest share went to North Vietnam. Its value, reckoned in dollars at Soviet foreign-trade prices, was \$1.4 billion from 1954 through 1968. Aid in 1969 was estimated at \$120 million. The combined military and economic aid agreement signed by Soviet and North Vietnam in 1970 costs Moscow about \$1 billion annually. Both militarily and economically Hanoi has been more dependent on Moscow than Peking.

The Soviet also plays an important role in the Middle East hostility. The aid program for Egypt, already costly, rose sharply after the 1967 war with Israel. The entire program from 1955

through the end of 1970 amounted to \$2.7 billion. This excludes the military and economic assistance pact signed in Moscow in December 1970. In like manner the United States is the only strong supporter of Israel who is not in a position to launch a big war against the Arabs short of American military aid.

There have been three major Arab-Israeli antagonisms: in 1948-49, 1956, and 1967. The Arabs would not end their hostility against Israel unless Israel is ready to withdraw her troops from the occupied territories and to effect reparations to the 1,500,000 Palestinian Arab refugees who have left Israel since 1948. While having been expecting an early peace settlement after their victory in 1967, the Israelis rejected the UN Security Council's resolutions on Arab-Israeli clashes. At the same time Israel fears that Four Power talks might result in such a compromise as undermining Israel's interest. The Middle East crisis must be ended as soon as possible, otherwise it might lead to direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet. The possibility for a peaceful settlement lies in the fact that either of the two superpowers realizes the horrible consequences of their involvement in an escalated hostility. Thus far neither of them has given up the hope of getting the crisis eliminated at an early date.

Ambassador Jarring, representative of the UN, tried his best to fulfill the duty of intermediation. Meanwhile, the Big Four have left no stone unturned to hasten the materialization of a peace program acceptable to both Arabs and Israelis. The deadlock confronting the intermediaries is that Egypt insists on Israel's withdrawal from the territories she occupied in the 1967; whereas Israel would not withdraw prior to agreement on a peace treaty. United States' four-point proposal to which London, Moscow and Paris had no objection should have been accepted by Arabs as well as Israelis. The American proposals are:

1. Israel should be guaranteed her rights as a recognized sovereign state, her rights of passage through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba.
2. Israel should withdraw from Sinai.
3. Sharm el Sheik should be subject to negotiation between the Israeli and Arab governments.
4. The Golan Heights should be neutralized and placed under international supervision.

It was also suggested in the Big Four meetings that U.S. and

U.S.S.R. troops should take part in policing the disputed areas for at least ten years, unless the Security Council agrees unanimously to their withdrawal.¹

As a matter of fact the American proposal is impartial and reasonable in every respect. Both Egypt and Israel should on no account reject it in view of the fact that neither the full determination of resorting to force nor the intransigent attitude of letting the stalemate drag on indefinitely would be in the interest of either side. We are completely sympathetic with both sides in so far as they are struggling for national security and integrity of sovereignty. We, as neutral observers, must, however, suggest that for ensuring the national security either side should by all means refrain from appealing to war on the one hand, and that either side be bold enough to make some necessary concession on the other so that a peace settlement can be brought about through negotiation. Arab-Israeli rapprochement can and should be materialized in the near future. The only stumbling-block to mutual understanding lies in mutual fear and mutual suspicion, along with the impact of ultra-nationalism. It is time for both Egypt and Israel together with these two peoples to realize that on rapprochement alone depends the prosperity and security of both nations, and that continuous hostility will undoubtedly lead to the destruction of all concerned.

A peace settlement in the Middle East has a great bearing on the national interest of the two superpowers as on the Middle East countries. Accordingly, the two superpowers have to shoulder the responsibility to nipping the catastrophe in the bud before it is too late. We have strong confidence in the statesmanship of the Big Four, whose farsightedness and prompt action could break the deadlock in Indo-China and Middle East. Now is no time for hesitation and suspicion. It is now or never. Don't let us be condemned by our children of the next generation for our indecision and shortsightedness. In fact, it is the golden opportunity for the statesmen of the two superpowers to accomplish something beneficial for all so that they will go down in history as great upholders of world peace.

Although people may not concur with John Ruskin that patriotism is an absurd prejudice founded on extended selfishness,

¹James Reston's article, "The Middle East Negotiations," *The New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1971.

it is not out of place to maintain that patriotism is justifiable in so far as it is non-aggressive and non-imperialistic. To love my country as much as other people's country is the kind of patriotism worthy of admiration. It is not my country but the world that is in fact the parent of all. Of course, it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country; yet it is great and noble to sacrifice for mankind. I sincerely hope that the political leaders in the Kremlin always bear in mind the Russian proverb that "A bad peace is better than a good quarrel." At the same time, the foreign-policy makers in Washington should not forget Benjamin Franklin's warning: "There never was a good war or a bad peace." In short, war represents moral, intellectual, political and economic bankruptcy; war is suicidal and ruinous to the victor as well as to the defeated. Now is, therefore, the time for the two superpowers to write world history anew with the spirit of good will and cooperation instead of hostility and blood.

(3) *Turning the United Nations into a World Government*

I laid great stress previously in these pages on the fact that the formation of a world government is a *sine qua non*. The public as well as the members of the United Nations all realize that the United Nations fails to deal with the basic issues of war and peace when a big power's national interests are involved. The procrastination of the Vietnam War, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, American intervention in the Dominican Republic and the turmoil in the Middle East are evident indications of the United Nations' inabilities. There are many factors causing the ineffectiveness of the present world organization. The main causes may be classified into four categories: (1) the United Nations has, up to now, been manipulated by big powers. (2) Unequal rights among the members, especially the vote-casting in the General Assembly, has affected considerably the function of the world organization. (3) The so-called non-aligned bloc lacks impartiality in dealing with world issues. (4) People's opinion of various lands has all along been inaccessible to the General Assembly for lack of people's representatives. Let us illustrate one by one in detail.

Henry Cabot Lodge, once an ambassador to the United Nations, said in 1970 that two of the United Nations' achievements during the last 25 years were that it did not condemn the American landing in Lebanon in 1958 and refused to condemn the United

States for the U-2 flights over Russia. His sarcastic remarks have been interpreted as an indication that the United Nations has been functioning in compliance with the will of big powers whose maneuvers had never been checked either in the General Assembly or in the Security Council. In other words, anything disadvantageous to the Soviet Union was always vetoed by the Soviet delegate. In like manner anything disagreeable to Washington was also rejected by the American representatives. That is why antagonism between the big powers could in no way be reconciled smoothly so long as each power maintains its interest primarily.

The "microstates" whose area, population, and economic resources are exceptionally small pose a serious problem in the United Nations. Maldives Island, for example, is a full-fledged member of U.N., casting a vote in the General Assembly equal to those of big countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, India, or Britain. If Pitcairn Island succeeded in winning independence and applied for U.N. membership, it also would enjoy the same right of voting as many other big nations, although its area is only 1.75 square miles and its population totals 88. While Maldives Island is bigger than Pitcairn it cannot and should not play as full a role in the U.N. as other big nations. Maldives Island has a population of 105,000 and an area of 115 square miles. Obviously it is unjust to let the microstates share the same kind of rights and obligations with the big countries such as the United States, the Soviet Union, etc. Meanwhile, it weakens the U.N. itself and overburdens the microstates.

Nauru, another tiny island in the Pacific Ocean, which declared independence on January 31, 1968, has a population of 3,100 and an area of 5,263 acres. This small independent state's application for U.N. membership cannot justifiably be denied at any rate. How could Nauru shoulder the full responsibility as a member in the U.N. were it admitted into the world organization? Should the membership of the microstates be limited? Are they willing to have their membership limited without vehement dispute? These questions confronting the U.N. today remain unanswered.

A great number of nations have tried to ease the tension between the power blocs by grouping together as the "nonaligned." The leaders of these nonaligned nations had their summit conference concluded in Zambia in September, 1970. As a result of the U.N.'s failure in coping with the worsening world situation, the nonaligned nations attempted to accomplish something in the

interests of world peace. Unfortunately what they performed in the summit conference at Lusaka was completely in defiance of the goal they advocated.

Their resolutions at Lusaka signified no neutral or even-handed stand on some of the most complicated issues of the present-day world. They lined up with the Arab nations in the Middle East dispute. They did not condemn Palestinian guerillas for air hijacking. They insisted on Israel's withdrawal of troops from the occupied areas without censuring the Arabs' aggression. With regard to the problem of Africa their stance was not neutral either. They criticized Britain for its intent to sell arms to South Africa but refrained from condemning France for her arms sale to Pretoria in opposition to a U.N. resolution. At the same time their position in relation to the Vietnam problem was by no means impartial. They called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and found fault with the United States for the consequence of the bloody war, without blaming both Peking and Moscow for their military commitment in Indo-China, let alone the Soviet military occupation of Czechoslovakia.

Such being the case, it is plain that the so-called non-aligned bloc is no remedy for the unrest of the present-day world; and it can possibly intensify world chaos rather than eliminating it. Undoubtedly, the existence of a world organization is imperative; and to maintain its survival, being a sacred obligation of all nations concerned, calls for the common effort of all members. However, the U.N. is not in a position to function more effectively in the way of solving international disputes than what it did in the past 25 years. It goes without saying that the U.N. should be re-organized as such a world government as actually represented by the people of various lands, instead of simply serving as a forum of politicians' propaganda.

The General Assembly of the U.N. should take into serious consideration the preliminary procedure concerning the formation of the world government. To begin with, a committee for that purpose must be set up to draw plans in relation to the steps of organization of a world parliament, along with the draft of a world constitution. All preparatory work must be completed in the next decade so that a workable as well as efficient world body-politic can be set up in the interests of mankind at large.

Chapter IX

CO-WEALTHISM AND CHINA OF TOMORROW

The Chinese Communist regime, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, has been ruling a quarter of the world's population for more than two decades. In the past two decades the Peking regime's scientific accomplishment was as spectacular as its political failure. Its first explosion of an atomic bomb on October 16, 1964; the first explosion of a hydrogen bomb on June 17, 1967; and the first launching of a satellite on April 25, 1970 enhanced the image of China in no small measure. Unfortunately, its scientific achievement has been offset by its political mistakes. Diplomatically, the "*yi-miam-tao*" (lean to the one side of Russia) policy declared in 1950, sowed the seeds of disasters such as involvement in the Korean War, which in turn, paved the way for the later anti-Soviet dilemma and for a self-imposed isolation that prolonged hostility against the free world in general and the United States in particular.

Economically, the so-called Great Leap Forward initiated in 1958 caused a tremendous setback and aggravated the suffering of the people. Internally, such tyrannical practices as constant brainwashing, unceasing struggle, ruthless persecution of the intellectuals, especially during the period of rampage of the Cultural Revolution, exasperated the enmity of the people. Peking is proud of its economic success by asserting that the government has neither external nor internal debt. It is, of course, no miracle at all in view of the fact that, by forcing the people to tighten their belt, working more than ten hours a day with the lowest wages;

and by appealing to self-sacrifice and urging the people to devote their life to the Communist regime, especially to Mao, Peking is enabled to escape such economic crises as the business cycle, inflation, and depression as occur in the free nations. In fact, in a Communist country the government itself is a great capitalist whose abundant wealth is accumulated through excessive exploitation of the workers and peasants.

What I have pictured in relation to Peking's economy has generally been confirmed by Tillman Durdin, journalist of the *New York Times*, who reported on April 27, 1971 thus: "Peking's economic policy of self-reliance entails hard work, maximum possible productivity and wages kept at moderate levels. By this means the state-controlled system of farms and factories is made to yield as much capital as possible for reinvestment. Foreign experts still feel that despite the undoubted growth in industrial and agricultural production in the People's Republic in the last two years, the country's ability to continue economic expansion purely through muscle power and its own capital accumulation has still to be demonstrated. . . . More pay for extra output and overtime work have been eliminated everywhere. . . . Present wage levels for workers at the plant were given as ranging from \$21 to \$42 a month."¹

The peasants' living standard is much lower than the city workers'. But the foreign newsmen and visitors are not allowed to go to the rural community. The miserable condition of peasants' poverty has long been a sealed book. Although sometimes foreign visitors are offered opportunity to visit one or two model villages close to big cities such as Peking, Shanghai, Canton, etc., they are readily misled by what they see in the model communes, which are used as window-dressing.

As a result of long-time suffering the masses of people, including a considerably great number of the Communist cadres, are disillusioned and anxiously as well as patiently waiting for an inevitable change. They all long eagerly to see the dawn of tomorrow. In fact, Communist China is in the process of transformation, and the so-called revisionists condemned by the Maoists' faction are bound to rise despite the nationwide purge. The Chinese

¹Tillman Durdin's report from Peking, *The New York Times*, April 29, 1971.

people are on the whole practical and sensible, let alone the intellectuals. When the time is ripe for change they would not hesitate to grasp the opportunity to bring about the reform.

Chinese Communists stick to the wrong notion all along that the end justifies the means. Internally, Mao in the past two decades made as great mistakes as in his foreign policy. In order to weed out all the malcontents and opponents Mao pretendedly declared, "Let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred philosophers contend together." He feigned to tolerate dissenters and to encourage free expression in 1956. However, immediately after people voiced criticism against the regime, Mao inflicted ruthless penalties upon all the outspoken critics in the name of an anti-rightist campaign.

In 1958 Mao's grandiose dream led him to another phantasm. Under the banner of the Great Leap Forward he initiated the peoples' commune and the ridiculous backyard furnaces for increasing steel output, with the hope of catching up with the highly industrialized countries. Consequently, it resulted in an unprecedented economic setback as well as political chaos. Of greater significance than anything else is no doubt the so-called Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution Mao launched in 1966. It plunged the whole nation into such turmoil that millions of Red Guards rampaged through the nation, humiliated and purged numerous intellectuals and Communist cadres, disrupted production and foreign trade, incited factional fighting, and, worst of all, paralyzed education and the party structure. Using innocent students as political tools to seize power for personal aggrandizement is unforgivable culpability.

Mao's success in purging Liu Shao-chi together with the revisionists depended upon the army. It leads to the domination of military men throughout the country. Now military men rule the party, the school, the factory, and the government. Undoubtedly, military domination would give rise to warlordism which would in turn create what Mao calls "independent kingdoms" and disrupt national unification. Mao himself is not aware of this unfortunate consequence. He is not, however, in a position to hold the military domination in check so long as the tail wags the dog.

In fact, revisionism, which Mao condemns bitterly, has more than once corrected Mao's blunders and will undoubtedly play an important role in the course of China's transformation. The

revisionists in China are more pragmatic and more realistic than the hard-liners such as the Maoists. It is indisputable that only with the rise of a revisionist regime, which is bound to emerge sooner or later, can China be expected to give up the scheme of world revolution, to regain freedom for the people, to live peacefully together with her Asian neighbors, and to restore genuine friendship with the United States. Chou En-lai's ping-pong diplomacy has already broken the ice with America, and it indicates that Mao's anti-revisionist campaign is waning.

Despite constant indoctrination the effect of brainwashing is limited. The Chinese people, let alone the intellectuals, realize that the United States is far from being such an imperialistic country as the Maoists picture. Prof. Mikhail Klochko, a Russian scientist, who lived in Communist China for several years and visited many cities, observed: "Officially the people bellowed and roared and had innumerable demonstrations against America, but I never met a single Chinese who privately expressed the slightest hostility to Americans."² The Maoists should have long apprehended that revision literally means correction of errors; and that Marxism is outmoded. As a matter of fact, the old Marxists such as Kautsky, Bernstein and many contemporary Marxists in the Soviet Union and its East European satellites are revisionists. Engels, in his introduction to Marx's *Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich*, admitted that new methods might be needed in the socialist struggle under changed political and economic conditions. The Communists should have realized that forcing the people to believe what is unbelievable is of no avail and perilous.

Mao claims himself to be the sole rightful heir of Marxism; all revisionists in China and other countries are Marx's traitors. Accordingly, he has laid great stress on class war and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Obviously Mao, like many other obstinate Communists, did not keep his eyes open to the fact that in 1948 the young Marx of 30 years old encouraged the proletariat to fight with bullets and bayonets, whereas the mature Marx propounded triumph via the ballot box. He asserted, on September 8, 1872, that in England, the United States and Holland "the worker may attain his object by peaceful means." Today even such a workers' party as the German Social Democrats that have long carried Marx on

²Mikhail Klochko, *Soviet Scientist in Red China*, p. 67.

their red banner have eventually confined him and his dogmas to the museum.

Furthermore, Mao and other hard-liners should on no account overlook another significant fact, that freedom of thought is favored by the foremost Soviet scientists. For example, Andrei Sakharov, one of the distinguished nuclear scientists; Piotr Kapitsa, the noted physicist; and the late Landau, another physicist, are strongly opposed to the bondage of ideology. In 1962 Kapitsa wrote that, had Soviet scientists obeyed Marxist philosophers, they would have rejected cybernetics and excluded Russia from the space race. Among 400,000 members of the Soviet scientific circle Sakharov is a prominent figure. He declares that only a liberal-democratic reform including a multiparty system can insure freedom in Russia. Meanwhile, he is strongly convinced that class war can by no means accomplish anything conducive to social well-being and improvement.

Sakharov, Medvedev and Turchin wrote in 1970 to the Soviet party authorities: "Truthful information about our shortcomings and negative phenomena is classified as secret. . . . Exchange of information with foreign countries is restricted. Theoretical conclusions and practical proposals which strike some people as too bold are pared down to the bone without any discussion, for fear that they could undermine the foundations."

Under the tyranny of the Kremlin the Soviet intellectuals are in a position to appeal and protest against the ban on free expression. Would the Peking regime tolerate dissension of opinion and the voice of opposition of intellectuals? It is no wonder the Chinese hierarchy has, thus far, failed to win the minds of the people. The tragic fact that hundreds of Chinese including many students escape to Hong Kong from the mainland every month indicates that the majority of the Chinese people are obviously in defiance of the Communist rule. Those who find no chance to escape are looking for "*tien pian*"—change by Heaven. They believe a drastic change is bound to come sooner or later. They are dreaming a new China of tomorrow, rebuilt in accordance with the principles of democracy, freedom, and rule of law.

Neither would the Chinese people accept Communism, nor would they return to the old road of Capitalism. Undoubtedly, they would stick to the traditional economic theory of "*co-wealth*" (*tung fu*) whose basic idea has been shared in common by Con-

fucianists, Taoists and Moists. That every citizen should be made wealthy regardless of class was the common economic ideal of these three main philosophical schools. In other words, the Chinese traditional economic theory has long been based on the central idea of co-wealth.

The ancient "well field" (*tsing tien*) system is an instance of the co-wealth idea. In the early period of the Chou Dynasty (1122-246 B.C.), the land assigned to the people was arranged so that it looked like the Chinese word (*tsing*) "well." Thus, the field which the farmers tilled was termed "*tsing tien*." This land institution was briefly pictured by Mencius (372-289 B.C.), who said:

"A square *li* (a *li* equals approximately 1/3 mile) covers nine squares of land which contain nine hundred *mou* (a Chinese *mou* is roughly 1/6 acre). The central square is the public field; and eight families, each having its private hundred *mou*, cultivate in common the public field."³

People lived together peacefully under the well-field system. Their life was characterized by mutual love and mutual aid. Again, Mencius said:

"In the fields of a district those belonging to the same nine squares render friendly services to one another in their going out and coming in, aid one another in security and protection, and sustain one another in sickness. Thus the people are brought to live in affection and harmony."⁴

The thought of co-wealth, advocated by various philosophical schools, has been handed down from generation to generation without disruption, and it constitutes an significant one of the essential characters of Chinese culture. The principal philosophical schools that flourished in the periods of Chun Chiu (Spring and Autumn, 722-481 B.C.) and Chan Kuo (the Warring States, 403-221 B.C.), were Confucianism, Moism, Taoism, and Legalism. Let us deal in turn with the economic thought of each.

CONFUCIANIST CO-WEALTHY ECONOMY

Confucius (551-479 B.C.) and Mencius are considered the most outstanding philosophers of Confucianism. Mencius' economic doctrine is, however, more systematic than that of Confucius.

³*The Works of Mencius.*

⁴*Ibid.*

Confucius stressed the necessity of economic equality by saying in the *Lun Yu* (*Analects*):

"I have heard that the rulers of state and heads of families are not as much concerned about scarcity as about inequality. For when the people are economically equal, there will be no poverty."

Again he said:

"I have heard that the man of virtue helps the distressed, but does not add to the wealth of the rich."

Yeu-yo, a disciple of Confucius, asserted:

"If the people have plenty, their prince will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their prince can not enjoy plenty alone."

With regard to economic equality another story was recorded in the Confucian *Analects*:

The head of the Chi family was richer than the Duke of Chou had been; yet Chiu, Confucius' disciple, collected excessive taxes for him and increased the former's wealth. This made Confucius so angry with Chiu that he no longer accounted Chiu a worthy disciple. Meanwhile, he wanted his students to assail Chiu for his imposition of exorbitant taxes to benefit the rich.

Mencius program for attaining a co-wealthy economy had five facets:

- (1) increase of production
- (2) free trade
- (3) alleviation of the people's burden
- (4) ban on monopoly; and
- (5) division of labor.

(1) Increase of Production

Mencius said: "Let mulberry trees be planted about the homesteads with their five *mou*, and persons of fifty years old may be clothed with silk. In keeping fowls, pigs, dogs, and swine, let not their times of breeding be neglected, and persons of seventy years old may eat meat. Let not the time of farm cultivation be taken away, then the family of several members who own one hundred *mou* shall not suffer from hunger."

And Mencius' warning to the head of state:

"An intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood so as to make

sure that . . . they shall have sufficient to serve their parents, and . . . sufficient to support their wives and children; that in good years they shall always be abundantly satisfied, and that in bad years they shall escape the danger of perishing."

(2) *Free Trade*

By the period of Chan Kuo, interstate commerce had developed to such an extent that each state, to protect its own products and increase its revenue, set up many regulations to restrict the interstate trade. To this type of tariff walls Mencius was strongly opposed. According to him no commodities should be taxed if the land on which they were grown had already been taxed. On the other hand, no land impost should be collected when the market was controlled by law. Alien travelers might be subjected to customs inspection; but their goods should be permitted tax-free entry. This would, for Mencius, facilitate free interstate trade.

(3) *Alleviation of the People's Burden*

At Mencius' time government revenue came from levies on clothes, grain and labor. In order to enrich the people Mencius insisted upon reduction of taxes. When he was in the state of Chi, its ruler said to Mencius, "I have a weakness, for I am fond of wealth." Mencius replied, "If your Majesty loves wealth, let the people be able to gratify the same feeling; then what difficulty will there be in your attaining imperial sway?" The head of a state should, it seemed to Mencius, always take into consideration the welfare of the people and the economic development of the whole nation. There should be no difference whatsoever between the wealth of the governor and that of the governed. The fate of the two are inseparable; they must be closely related for reciprocal benefit. Accordingly, Mencius declared,

"When the ruler rejoices in the joy of the people, they also are happy for his joy; when he grieves at the sorrow of his people, they also grieve at his sorrow. A sympathy of joy will pervade the empire and a sympathy of sorrow will do the same. As a result, the ruler will no doubt achieve imperial dignity."

(4) *Anti-monopoly*

Mencius was convinced that to enrich the people at large instead of just benefiting the privileged few should be the main objective of national economy. He asserted:

"Of old, the market dealers exchanged commodities with one another according to demand. No tax was laid by the government. The taxing of traders took its rise from the fact that some mean fellow tried to monopolize the market."

Evidently in Mencius' co-wealthy economy there is no room for monopoly. He regarded the monopolist contemptuously as a mean fellow.

(5) *Division of Labor*

Mencius knew that labor had to be divided according to each man's training and craftsmanship. No single individual could be expected to engage in a variety of occupations. Thus he pointed out:

"In the case of any individual, whatever articles he can require are ready to his hand, produced by various handcraftsmen. . . . Some labor with their minds, and some labor with their hands."

The Confucianist economic goal, like that of other philosophical schools, centered on the idea of co-wealth; and the primary means to realize that ideal were as mentioned previously: increase of production, reduction of tax, and frugality of consumption. The conception of multiplying wealth was concisely stated in the "Great Learning," one of the Four Books of Confucianism:

"There is a great course for the augmentation of wealth. Let the producers be many and wasteful consumers few. Let there be efficiency in production and frugality in expenditure, then the wealth will be sufficient."

MO-IST CO-WEALTHY ECONOMY

Mo Tzu, the founder of Moism, lived in the period of Chan Kuo, ca. 480-390 B.C. Like Mencius, he advocated the division of labor; but he put mental and manual labor on an equal footing. While Mo Tzu by no means preached the abolition of private property, he cherished the co-wealthy idea that both labor and capital should be used in the interests of the whole community.

In the Book of Mo Tzu, he said: "When one has spare energy he should serve others, when one has spare wealth he should distribute it to others."

Mutual profit could be brought about only through self-sacrifice. He said: "Let scholars sacrifice themselves in order to profit others; let every man do what disgusts him in order to fulfill the needs of others."⁵

In the period of Chan Kuo, the people, as a result of constant war, were stricken by poverty and famine. This was also due to underproduction, which in turn resulted from the lack of mechanical industry in the old days. Modern highly industrialized countries menaced by overproduction encourage spending rather than frugality. But ancient China, just like modern China, suffered from underproduction and scarcity of consumer goods. Accordingly, frugality was considered one of the most effective expedients in the amelioration of poverty.

Mo Tzu, like the Confucianists, maintained that we should spend no more than we actually need. While Confucius admired the magnificence of the Chou dynasty, Mo Tzu preferred the simplicity of the Hsia dynasty (2200-1700 B.C.). When a disciple of Mo Tzu asked him about the occasions on which to use silk, embroidery, and other finery, the master replied:

"Ah! Such is not the stuff that I would employ at all. There was a person in antiquity that attained the ideal by leaving alone all decorum, that was Yu of Hsia."⁶

TAOIST CO-WEALTHY ECONOMY

When we deal with Taoist precepts, a clear distinction between philosophical Taoism and religious Taoism must be drawn. The Taoist bible is the *Tao Teh Ching*, which is attributed to Lao Tzu. The book was probably written during the Chan Kuo period, but the existence of Lao Tzu can not be documented. Philosophical Taoism, a sort of pure philosophy, expounds the idea of Tao (the way of life), and the theory of government. The founding of religious Taoism is attributed to Chang Tao-lin and his grandson, Chang Lu, who lived in East Han in the second century A.D.

According to the Book of Lao Tzu, a man of Tao keeps

⁵The Book of Mo Tzu, Chap. 11, Shang Tong 1.

⁶Liu Hsing, *Sbwo Yuan*.

himself in complete union with nature. Lives a life of simplicity and tranquility, and has as little desire as possible. This philosophy characterized by extreme limit of desire seems hostile to economic and material development which is based on unlimited desire. In fact, philosophical Taoism was obviously a reactionary movement against individual strife, interstate war, social turmoil and the chaos of Chan Kuo. The development of communications and interstate trade gave rise to distinction between rich and poor. As result of this conspicuous social development people of various states were indulged in striving for satisfaction of material life. Against the abuse of materialism together with the political evil of that period the philosophical Taoism under the leadership of Lao Tzu lodged a strong protest. Despite its repudiation of materialism, militarism, and governmental interference, the Book of Lao Tzu is in no wise anarchic or pessimistic as many critics presumed.

Lao Tzu denounces the privileged few and lays great stress upon the well-being of the masses. The ideal state, for Lao Tzu, would find the masses of people "contented with their food, pleased with their clothing, satisfied with their homes, and happy with their customs." Some may think this diminution of desire preached by Lao Tzu would hinder economic growth which depends on human wants. Most ordinary people feel that to diminish or abolish desire means exactly obstruction to progress. Nevertheless, the Taoists held that human desire, if not curbed, often leads to dissatisfaction and despair. Since desire is boundless, there is no limit to what is wanted. In other words, what man desires is limitless; and what can satisfy man's desire is limited. It is, therefore, distressful as well as perilous to hunt for the limited material with the limitless desire. The more one wishes to gain, the greater one's misery. Let us notice what Lao Tzu asserted:

"He who knows contentment is rich. . . . Being without desire they would be quiet, and the world would of itself be settled. . . . No disaster is greater than not to know what is enough. No fault is greater than the desire to acquire. For to know that enough is enough is to have always enough."

Lao Tzu was opposed to government interference in political and economic affairs. He seemed to favor the modern laissez-faire doctrine of the physiocrats. The following quotations suffice to confirm what he believed to be true:

"The more taboos and prohibitions there are in the Empire,

the poorer the people will be. . . . The more laws and ordinances are promulgated, the more thieves and robbers will be. . . . If I practice non-action, the people will of themselves become rich. If I practice being without desire, the people will of themselves become simple."

Another essential point of Lao Tzu's philosophy with reference to co-wealthy economy lies in the union of self and others. According to Lao Tzu the interest of self is derived and cannot be separated from that of others. The more you serve for the well-being of others, the greater your benefit will be. Contrarily, if you do anything at the expense of others, you harm yourself as much as you hurt others. Lao Tzu declared thus:

"The saint does not hoard. Having regarded everything as belonging to others, he has greater abundance himself. Having given everything to others he has the more himself."

LEGALIST CO-WEALTHY ECONOMY

Legalism, which also flourished in the period of Chan Kuo, differed greatly from Confucianism in many respects because it insisted upon substituting the rule of law for the rule of man. Law was seen as impartial, objective, and based on reason rather than feeling. The earliest and greatest Legalist was Kuan Tzu (?-645 B.C.), who served the state of Chee as Prime Minister for 40 years. He was considered the most brilliant statesman of the Chun Chiu period.

The Book of Kuan Tzu, written by a remarkable scholar of Chan Kuo, has been regarded as the most valuable literature of the Legalists. Particularly its economic theory was so unique that it surpassed all contemporary writings so far as economic problem is concerned. This monumental work distinctly set forth such economic institutions as governmental control of currency and prices, governmental ownership of key industries, and governmental restriction on distribution and consumption. The species of co-wealthy economy expounded by the author—which was in accord with the general economic practices of Kuan Tzu—represented neither a completely free economy, nor scholastic abolition of free enterprise. *The Book of Kuan Tzu* stressed that a free economy should be preserved in so far as it did not harm the welfare of the people, and that freedom of trade and production should not be destroyed.

The intrinsic value of this work lies in its effort to remove

the distinction between the rich and poor on the one hand; and to promote the common good by rational readjustment of production and distribution on the other. Notice the following illustration:

"Land is the basis of government, which can never be correct if the land is not equalized."⁷

"When men become wealthy, they are not interested in government employment; when poor they are not awed by penalties. The reason that the laws are not obeyed today and the people cannot be well governed is that the poor and the rich have not been brought toward the same level."⁸

"Unless the sovereign properly arranges for the distribution of what has been accumulated, and equalizes the possessions of those who have more than enough and of those who have too little, and distributes wealth to the people—then even though he protects the fundamental occupations and resorts to the endless process of minting coins, he will not save his people from enslaving one another. How can he set a nation in order? . . . Money has been coined, and currency is exchanged among and used by the people. Why do they sell their children? It is due to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few."⁹

The quantity theory of money—that the value of money is inversely proportional to its quantity—was explained by the author of *The Book of Kuan Tzu* a long time ago. He realized that the value of money falls when its quantity increases, and vice versa. The quantity of money is relevant to the general price level. Accordingly, some degree of governmental control is of necessity. It is apparent that although Kuan Tzu was not a socialist in the strict sense of the word, he endorsed and practiced in his own state a sort of planned economy which he thought was conducive to the well-being of the people.

"Knife money (Chinese ancient money was knife-shaped) and coins are kept in the hands of government with the object of controlling the changing price of commodities. The aim or direction of control depends upon the price. If the money is heavy (dear), then all commodities seem light (cheap); if

⁷*The Book of Kuan Tzu*, Chap. 4, "The Establishment of Government."

⁸*Ibid.*, Chap. 37, "On Extravagance."

⁹*Ibid.*, Chap. 80.

money is light, then all commodities are heavy. In the case of grain, the top or bottom of price may be controlled by the sovereign. He may spend money or gold to achieve stability throughout the country. This is the way to keep affairs stable."¹⁰

Thus we see how Chinese philosophy and history have paved the way for our present proclamation of Co-wealthism. Today's Chinese are ready to accept this old and traditionally heritable economic order so that they can rebuild a new China free from class struggle and dictatorship. In fact, the Chinese people, let alone the intellectuals, are ideologically in a vacuum. Neither Capitalism nor Socialism can meet their requirements. They are standing hesitantly at the crossroads. It is our duty to bring about China's transformation by virtue of Co-wealthism, which not only is consonant with the traditional political and economic ideals of China but also holds vast promises for the well-being of mankind.

Politically, China is still ruled under one-party dictatorship; industrially, China is still backward; and economically, the Chinese people's living standard, though some improvement has been made in several big cities, is still low. While many an obstinate Communist leader blindly sticks to the outmoded dogma of Marx and Lenin, the impact of the *zeitgeist* characterized by change and renovation upon numerous cadres, civil and military, is so forceful that they have to modify their policies internally as well as externally. They begin to realize that neither Marxian Communism nor 19th century Capitalism can meet the requirements of China. Meanwhile, the majority of Chinese, under the long-standing influence of the doctrine of the mean, are conscious of the danger of extremism. They are no longer readily subject to ultra-conservatism and ultra-radicalism. They are more convinced than ever before that truth lies in the middle of two extremes.

Obviously Co-wealthism, based on the doctrine of the mean, will be considered the only alternative for China's transformation. With implementation of Co-wealthism China will eventually attain the long-cherished goal of freedom and democracy. On the transformation of China depends the lasting world peace.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Chap. 76, "San Chi Soo."

Chapter X

THE FUTURE OF THE MIXED ECONOMY

It is an indisputable fact that the modern economic order of all free nations either has already been transformed or is in the course of change. In other words, the modern Western economic system is no longer built on the old Capitalism. Prof. Paul Samuelson rightly says: "Capitalism, in the sense of undiluted laissez-faire, died before Queen Victoria died."¹ In England, for instance, Fabianism paved the way for the rise to power of the Labor Party. In other countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand, a sort of moderate Socialism has been carried out for a long time. Since the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt was put into execution the U.S. economy has become what most of the economists term a "mixed economy"—a new order different from both Capitalism and Socialism.

(1) *The Characteristics of the Mixed Economy*

The mixed economy is essentially based upon free enterprise, which is, as Prof. Sumner Slichter points out, a kind of economic institution under which you are free to buy from whomever is willing to sell and to sell to whomever is willing to buy. You are equally free to refuse to buy or sell whenever you please for any reason or no reason.² Furthermore, under free enterprise government confines itself mainly to the suppression of fraud and violence and to the enforcement of contracts. It does not

¹Paul A. Samuelson, *Economics*, Eighth Edition, p. 820.

²Sumner H. Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, Chap. III, N.Y., 1928.

attempt to guide the course of industry. It pursues a "let alone" or "hands off" policy."

Unlike Communism, a mixed economy is completely free from abuses as overall planning, absolute control, and excessive concentration of direction in relation to production, distribution and consumption. In other words, decentralization is one of the advantages attributable to a mixed economy. With a view to strengthening productivity, the Soviet Union, after having learned a lesson from past bitter experience, realizes now the defects of centralization in operating its national economy. Meanwhile, other Communist regimes in Eastern Europe are also paying more attention to the effectiveness and merit of decentralization.

Other meritorious aspects of mixed economy such as incentive and efficiency should not be overlooked. The parent of incentive is the profit motivation which, despite the Communist condemnation, has been the *sine qua non* in prompting economic growth. In fact, profit-seeking, as a part of human nature, is not unjustifiable so long as it is not in conflict with the profit of other human beings. There would be no progress in modern industry were profit incentive denied altogether.

Obviously, it is the very profit incentive that prompts the businessman to produce better merchandise so as to win a wider market and more patronage. Herein lies the indispensableness of competition, which is, as Prof. Sumner Slichter observes, the great regulative force establishing effective control over economic activities and giving each of us an incentive to watch the interest of others.

Competition, as the traditional liberal economists claim, may avoid the abuse of monopoly on the one hand and public control on the other. Nevertheless, both perfect and imperfect competition cannot be expected to be free from detrimental consequences. Oligopoly as well as monopoly would lead to the dissatisfaction of the community, were it not regulated one way or another by the government. Under unchecked competition the consumers are inevitably at the mercy of advertising experts and ingenious selling. At the same time, the small business has to be an easy prey for big industry.

With regard to the merits and demerits of big industry and

³*Ibid.*

monopoly, different observations were expressed by economic critics. Some said that three big automobile corporations—General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—have used annual restyling as a market weapon to achieve monopoly power in violation of the federal antitrust law. For five decades the Big Three have changed the styles of their automobiles on an annual basis. That practice transformed the industry into a collective monopoly, and the costs involved (more than \$1.5 billion per annum) eliminated nearly a hundred automobile producers.

Ralph Nader and a team of young investigators have prepared a comprehensive report, entitled "The Closed Enterprise System," which is critical of monopoly. While admitting that the competitive system is a spur to economic efficiency and technological innovation, they realize that monopoly is costly to consumers. The Nader report suggests that concentration of economic power in oligopolistic industries should be curbed through effective enforcement of the antitrust law. In order to increase economic efficiency and reduce the political power of big corporations, the report insists that an absolute limit of \$2 billion should be imposed on the assets of any corporation, except utilities and rate-regulated industries.

Despite the charges made by Mr. Nader, many an economist maintains that unrestrained competition among a large number of companies will yield the greatest variety and the highest quality of consumer products. Monopoly, like competition, is based on profit incentive. The remarks on profit incentive made by a former Communist, Stevan Dediger, now a Swedish citizen, are very impressive. In his speech, published August 30, 1971 by the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, Dediger asserted: "It is my guess that a systematic comparative study of planning activity of enterprises in various countries would show that those in the U.S.A. do more and better planning by far and have more experience in it than the enterprises in the Communist countries. As if in derision of Marx, the profit motive has spurred the U.S. business firms, large and small, to engage in the past generation in increasingly accurate planning of sales, investments, productivity, new products, processes and capacities."

In effect, profit incentive condemned formerly by the Communists is now being experimented with by some Communist nations such as the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, etc. We can

hardly agree with Samuel Butler that the world will always be governed by self-interest in view of the fact that the human being is as much self-regarding as others-regarding. Evidently human nature is partly characterized by possessive impulse and partly by creative impulse. While everybody seeks profit for himself, at the same time everybody is ready to help, and have sympathy with, anybody who is in distress. If man is entirely dominated by egotism alone there would be no room for such virtues as love, generosity, self-denial, loyalism, and altruism. Apparently the profit incentive plays a very important role in the development of economic life and industrial civilization.

I think we should bear in mind the truth that, as the Chinese philosopher Lao Tzu maintains, the more you benefit others the greater is your profit. Actually self-interest can in no way be obtained by exploiting others, inasmuch as one's interest is closely related to, and inseparable from, that of others. Unfortunately, many people, especially businessmen, fail to realize the significance of mankind's interdependence. Absence of this understanding leads to the corruption of all institutions, let alone the economy. When education or philosophy fails to remedy economic abuses, we have to resort to the effective enforcement of law. Thus, government intervention is necessary.

It goes without saying that the consumers should be protected against the exploitation and illegal actions of some irresponsible businessmen who, left at liberty to do as they like, would certainly impair the well-being of the public. Absolute individualism insisting on laissez-faire strongly denounces government intervention as an interference with individual freedom. The unsoundness of the laissez-faire doctrine lies in the fact that individual freedom, closely related to public well-being, can by no means be well protected short of law effectively enforced by the government. Accordingly, government intervention is as indispensable in economic operation as in other social and political activities.

Meanwhile, we must realize that government intervention is not, as some economists assert, a departure from free enterprise, in view of the fact that free enterprise does not imply complete absence of government intervention. In fact, the contrast between free enterprise and a socialist economy is that the former enjoys abundant freedom in both production and distribution, and the

means of production is owned by private entrepreneurs. The latter on the contrary controls and owns the means of production. The immunities of free enterprise do not go so far as claiming such exclusive right as living in an anarchist land of no government. In other words, free enterprise and anarchism are not synonymous at all; it is, therefore, no justification whatsoever to maintain that government intervention should be ruled out in free enterprise.

During the period of the New Deal, the federal government did all within its power to enact new regulations in the way of converting the economic crisis. Only with positive government intervention could President Franklin D. Roosevelt bring about the unprecedented innovations in the national economy that ended the horrible depression of the 1930s. The New Deal resulted in the projection of government authority into private business together with the government-encouraged progressive growth of unionized labor, and eventually brought about greater equality in wealth as well as income. Such an epoch-making achievement in economic development cannot but be ascribed to government intervention in free enterprise.

(2) *Drawbacks of the Present-day System*

Apart from the merits of the mixed economy, we should not overlook its defects, such as frequent strikes, wage-price spiral, unemployment, and inflation. In addition, there are other troublesome issues confronting a good number of free nations that must on no account be unheeded. Monetary crises, balance-of-payments deficits, tariff walls, etc. have long been baffling problems vexing financial authorities immeasurably. Nevertheless, the mixed economy is in no way doomed to collapse despite its evidently considerable drawbacks. As no institution can be expected to be entirely free from being abused, there is no reason to take a pessimistic view towards the future of the mixed economy. In order to find an effective solution it is imperative to face realities and objectively analyse each problem so as to apprehend its cause and its significant bearing on the well-being of the public.

Let us first of all deal with the issue of strikes, which is one of the most serious headaches annoying everybody. The strike is the right of workers in free nations and is used to settle disputes

arising out of differences about wages or conditions of employment. Only in the Communist bloc is the workers' right to strike completely denied. In Great Britain prior to 1875 workers and employers were not on an equal footing in relation to civil contracts. Before 1875 a British worker who broke a contract of service was regarded as a criminal and sentenced to imprisonment or fine. With the Trade Disputes act of 1906 the British trade unions were granted more freedom from prosecutions for incitement to breach of contract in relation to trade disputes.

The earliest strike in the United States was the journeymen-printers' strike in New York in 1776 for an increase in wages. The first nationwide strike was on the Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Ohio railroads in 1877. 340,000 workers went on strike on May 1, 1886, in response to a call by the national trade union to secure the eight-hour day. On May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded in Haymarket Square in Chicago. It was probably the first time the U.S. workers created terror by a bomb explosion. Many postwar strikes in the U.S. were industry-wide and some of them resulted in violence which caused the intervention of state troops. In 1950 there were 4,843 stoppages. After the outbreak of the Korean War the federal government took an active part in settling labor disputes.

Most unfortunately, the tide of strikes has eventually been extended from industry workers to the public service and government agencies. In 1970 the postal service had its first strike in nearly two centuries. The public worried a good deal in the Spring of 1970 about the "sick" strike by federal air controllers in New York and other eastern cities, the strike by municipal employees in Atlanta, the threat of a nationwide rail strike, and the shutdown of newspapers.

The main causes of strikes are the soaring prices, the depreciation of the dollar, the increase of taxation, etc. While the workers' demand for bettering their livelihood cannot be considered illegitimate, the consequence of frequent wildcat strikes leads to disaster and tremendous suffering of the community at large. Furthermore, an industry-wide strike may undermine national security in the long run. James Reston rightly warns:

"There are about thirteen million people working in the United States for Federal, state and local governments—almost 18 per cent of the total work force. These are not only men who

operate the bridges and collect the garbage, but policemen, firemen and workers who supervise the whole electrical power structure on which the great cities of America depend. . . . Such is the reliance of vast cities like New York on electrical power that fifty key electrical workers, going down the right manholes, could paralyze every electrical circuit and stop every subway, elevator, air conditioner and computer in Manhattan."⁴

While the workers are entitled to protection of their legitimate right in improving living conditions, the public is also entitled to assurance of uninterrupted service. It is imperative for the government to heed that both the workers' right as well as the public welfare are well safeguarded through such legal procedure as bringing all management-labor disputes under strict control. American labor leader George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, is of the opinion that an impartial and orderly procedure to settle disputes in the federal service can be an effective substitute for the right to strike. In effect what he suggests for the settlement of disputes in the federal service can and should be applied to all industrial workers.

For the sake of insuring the public well-being, the stoppage of public services should on no account be tolerated. Accordingly, teachers, policemen, firemen, sanitation workers, doctors, nurses, postmen, etc. are not entitled to exercise the right of strike. Their grievances can be straightened out by arbitration of the government agency. By the same token, all disputes between management and labor should be referred to the government agency for fair settlement in accordance with arbitrary procedure, such as is regulated by the Pay Board of the Nixon Administration.

The problem of inflation, another headache of modern economists, has thus far not been tackled satisfactorily. Inflation is due mainly to the inadequate control of the wage-price spiral, to the negligence and mismanagement of monetary and fiscal policy, and to the deterioration of productivity. A long period of inflation results in unanimous suffering of the workers, consumers, especially those living on pensions or low incomes, and producers of various levels. Meanwhile, inflation is also the precursor of unemployment and depression. Nearly every free nation, under the

⁴James Reston's article "The Fragile Cities," *New York Times*, June 9, 1971.

institution of mixed economy, suffers in different degree from chronic inflation. Up to the present, not a single country has found an effective remedy to avoid inflation on all sides.

The key to curb inflation lies in a moderation of spending, public and private, in the enforcement of a sound fiscal policy coupled with monetary policy so as to increase budget surplus on the one hand, and to check the growth of bank credit on the other. Moreover, a more effective incomes policy is imperative in relation to price stability as well as high employment. In other words, firm government action on labor and management is indispensable. With the clamor of the American people for holding inflation in check, with the acceleration of international monetary crisis, and with the aggravation of the balance of payments deficit, President Nixon had to put his new economic program into effect in 1971.

That the faster wages rise the more unemployment there will be is an undeniable fact; and that the more the wages are successively increased the higher the prices become is also an indisputable fact. Evidently, the basic cause of inflation, as many people observe, lies in the excessive monopoly power of the labor union. Thus the effective way to check unemployment and stabilize price relies on the restraint of the unions' monopsonistic power. In the fall of 1971 President Nixon disclosed his new economic program for the purpose of winning a battle against inflation. A 90-day freeze of wages, price, and rents was declared. On October 8, 1971, he revealed his Phase 2 plan to continuously furthering the control of wages and prices.

The Phase 2 plan consists of three organizations: (1) the Price Commission, (2) the Pay Board, (3) the Cost of Living Council. The Price Commission is empowered to restrain prices and rent increases to the necessary minimum and to prevent windfall profits. The main function of the Pay Board is to stop inflationary prices and salary increases, and the board is made up of representatives of labor, management and the public. The Cost of Living Council, headed by the Secretary of the Treasury, has the power to back up the Pay Board and the Price Commission with government sanctions where necessary.

American labor's reaction to President Nixon's economic program is that he favors the profit of business more than labor's welfare. In fact, the division of income between labor and owner-

ship in the United States has been moving more favorably to labor than to management. Roger A. Freeman, senior fellow of the Hoover Institution, points out that the share of employee compensation in the national income has been growing steadily, from 69.8 per cent in 1965 to 75.8 percent in the first half of 1971; the share of after-tax profits meanwhile fell from 8.2 percent to 5.2 percent. In terms of corporate income employee compensation grew from 77.9 percent in 1965 to 84.5 percent in 1970, while after-tax profits declined from 13.5 percent to 8.4 percent. As to personal income labor's share increased from 70.1 percent in 1965 to 71.1 percent in 1971, while the slice of dividends, business and professional income shrank from 11.5 percent to 9.1 percent.⁵

Emphasizing the necessity of defending profits President Nixon argues that all Americans will benefit from more profits. More profits, it seems to him, fuel economic expansion that generates more jobs. Not only this, he is also convinced that more profits means more investment, which will make American goods more competitive at home and abroad; and more profits means more tax revenue.⁶

Inflation cannot be brought to an end short of government intervention, and intervention would in no way work out effectively were it not enforced permanently. Many countries in Europe have practiced control, but the outcome is not encouraging. Britain, France, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands have resorted to controls. Consequently, prices have soared 39 to 60 percent since 1963. The failure of their controls is due to the labor unrest and wildcat strikes. So long as labor and strikes are not restrained, all government controls will end in smoke. It is, therefore, imperative to enlist labor cooperation and effectively curb strikes through legislative procedures.

Unemployment is another serious problem of industrial nations. The business cycle, expansion of military expenditures, decline of foreign trade, and deterioration of productivity are not uncommon in nearly all industrial countries; and these factors give rise to unemployment, the basic solution of which relies on the expansion of economic growth rather than unemployment

⁵Roger A. Freeman's Letter to *The New York Times*, Sept. 8, 1971.

⁶President Nixon's Address on Phase 2 of Economic Program, October 7, 1971.

insurance. In the United States alone the rate of unemployment reaches 6 percent of the labor force—over 5 million people are out of work in 1971. And the prospect for full employment anticipated by the Nixon Administration seems gloomy despite the fact that the American gross national product reached \$1000 billion in 1971. Enactment of federal funding of extended unemployment compensation, public works program, and family assistance program are considered effective remedies for unemployment.

In the wake of a 90-day freeze President Nixon pins his hope upon Phase 2, the fate of which hinges mostly on the cooperation of labor. The Pay Board's basic ceiling is 5.5 percent a year for wage and fringe increase. The American coal union called in 1971 for a package pay increase of 39 percent over three years. Obviously it is in excess of the guidelines stipulated by the Pay Board. When monetary and fiscal policy are unavailing as anti-inflation measures, wage restraint is of course needed. Nevertheless, we must realize that no administration can work out the program of wage restraint successfully short of the cordial cooperation of the labor unions, whose monopoly power must be curbed in order to combat inflation. Any union is in a position to torpedo the stabilization projects. In World War II the coal union, for instance, broke its no-strike pledge. During the Korean War the Wage Stabilization Board was shot down as a result of President Truman's validation of an oversized pay agreement between the miners and the coal operators.

The Nixon Administration intends to cut the inflation rate to 2 or 3 percent by the end of 1972. Whether or not it will succeed depends mainly upon the fulfillment of the price-wage guideposts. The windfall profits of the employers as well as the excessive call for wage increases should be prevented so as to avoid the total failure of the new economic program. It is imperative for the laborers to recognize the fact that the faster wages rise the higher the prices, the less the purchasing power of the dollar, and, worst of all, the more unemployment there will be. Consequently, the greatest loser is not only the community but the laborer. Accordingly, the remedy for inflation relies on responsible fiscal and credit policy; and the remedy for unemployment hinges on the effective curb of the monopoly power of the unions on the one hand, and on the extension of public works on the other.

Should the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, a bill author-

izing the government to spend up to \$2.25 billion over the next two years to create about 200,000 public service jobs for the unemployed, be carried out, it would certainly help solve a part of unemployment problem. Public works remaining undone are numerous throughout the whole nation. It needs a great deal of money and well-planned projects. The jobs include such fields as education, transportation, health care, public safety, environmental quality, recreation, maintenance of parks, solid waste removal, pollution control, rural development, housing improvement, conservation, beautification of urban and suburban areas. Expenditures in fiscal 1972 amounts only to one billion dollars.

In June 1971 Senator George McGovern called for a shift of 31 billion from military spending to civilian purposes. One quarter of this sum would go for public works, with each of the nation's 3,000 counties receiving funds for the construction of a new school or a new hospital, \$5 billion for job training. The total of \$31 billion amounts to 40 percent of the American military budget. It would be unlikely that the Nixon Administration could cut its military spending to such an extent. However, it might be possible if another superpower would do the same.

(3) *Commonweal and Common Effort*

Economically, all nations are interdependent. No nation, big or small, can be isolated from other nations, and the economic vicissitudes of one country always affect the interests of other countries one way or another. The principle that, when a nation looks forward to develop its economic life it must on no account do it at the expense of other nations' interest, should be observed as strictly as possible. Both economic domination and protectionism are destructive and initiate retaliation and hostility.

With reference to the blemish of Nixon's Administration's economic policy, the *New York Times* commented thus: "In the international area, the Administration has gone to the other extreme and has been so aggressive as to raise fears of a long period of monetary instability and deteriorating trade. The Administration has insisted that other countries must upvalue their currencies, drop trade barriers against American goods and assume heavier defense burdens in order to bring about a massive swing in the United States balance of payments. But foreign resistance to

American demands is increasing as unemployment abroad rises and the danger of an international depression grows."⁷

Furthermore, the warning set forth by the editorial of the *New York Times* should be heeded by all nations. It rightly admonished: "In Washington and in foreign capitals, a much stronger effort to avoid such a replay of the nineteen-thirties has become urgent. Only if nations begin to adjust their policies to the need of one another and to resist domestic pressures for protection or retaliation will it be possible to avoid a still more serious breakdown of the international monetary system. Here (U.S.) and abroad, this effort must be supported by coordinated fiscal and monetary measures to stimulate economic recovery."⁸

Obviously it is unwise for any industrial country to adopt such protective measures as import quotas and import surcharges in such a way as to impair other nations' economies. For instance, the agreement coerced by Washington out of the Japanese and other Asian textile and wool exporters on October 15, 1971 represents no triumph of American textile industry, because it is done at a heavy cost to American international political and economic interest in the long run.

I completely concur with American critics who were convinced that America should in no way follow an aggressive trade policy that could provoke international trade wars. American economic influence in foreign countries has long been resented by its allies as well as enemies. As a result of heavy investing abroad, United States income from foreign investment amounted to \$5.4 billion in 1956 and reached \$8.6 billion in 1970. Accordingly, the overall United States balance of exports and imports of goods and services is in surplus. The remedy for improving the American economy lies in the expansion of exports, the growth of domestic productivity, the stabilization of prices, the restraint of the incessant increase of wages, and, most important of all, in the co-operation with all trade partners to avoid a trade war and to build a world common market so that a world monetary union together with a world economic equilibrium may be achieved in the long run.

Despite all the difficulties resulting from the mixed economy,

⁷Editorial, *The New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1971.

⁸*Ibid.*

the free enterprise system is far better than Socialism or Communism. Of the free enterprise system Prof. A. Samuelson in his textbook *Economics* says: "Nobody designed it. Like Topsy, it just grew; and like human nature, it is changing, but at least it meets the first test of any social organization—it is able to survive."

Economically, Western Europe had completed its recovery from the devastation of war, and the people's living standard had all along been much higher than that of all Communist countries. With more than two decades clamoring for increase of production on the part of Peking regime, both agriculture and industry are still considerably backward and the people's living is still miserable. Other Communist nations like Cuba, the Soviet Union, Chile, Poland, etc. are by no means free from serious economic crises. Fidel Castro, in his major address made in January 1971, candidly admitted that Cuba's economic outlook was bleak. In Cuba today 400,000 children between six and sixteen are neither going to school nor working. Tobacco production has dropped and the price of nickel, Cuba's second major export commodity, has declined. There is nearly nothing for a worker to buy apart from the scanty rations. Castro complained of "vagrancy, parasitism and other strange vices of the revolution" and called for a crusade to eliminate them.

The pre-Christmas turmoil in Poland in 1970 disclosed the gravity of frustration in Eastern Europe as workers prohibited from using the instrument of collective bargaining protested violently in the streets against a lowering of their living standard. In Western Europe it takes less than a year's wages to buy a car, whereas in Eastern Europe it takes at least ten years' wages. While the free nations in both Western Europe and North America are struggling with surpluses, the people in Communist countries are suffering from food shortages.

In Russia most of the production targets set by Premier Kosygin in 1966 were not reached, primarily because of delays in construction, backward plants and lack of capital and labor investments. Russians are looking forward that science and technology can be introduced as swiftly as possible so as to accelerate the growth of economy and to keep pace with the Western countries in the computer age. The Kremlin has been trying hard to interest Western concerns in signing long-term agreements to

export new technology to Russia and send young scientists abroad to study.

A Soviet economist with long experience in the United States once noted how surprised he was, during a visit to New England, to ascertain that a shoe manufacturer seemed fully familiar with modern management and could discuss the latest computers on the market. He asserted: "Most of our directors are former skilled workers with little advanced training. They rose to important posts under Stalin because they could organize workers to meet planned output goals. They are relatively unsophisticated and know very little about modern techniques. We are trying to change their attitude, but it is hard work."⁹

Evidently, mixed economy, in terms of productivity and people's well-being, is superior to Communism; despite the fact that mixed economy itself has as much room for change as other institutions. While people of the free nations are economically better off and spiritually enjoying more freedom and dignity than those living behind the Iron Curtain, the frustrations and problems confronting the free nations are mounting alarmingly. Apart from political discord the whole free world faces the challenge of such economic issues as international monetary crisis, trade war, and the threat of a worldwide recession.

With a view to attaining the realignment of currencies the finance ministers and central banker governors from ten Western countries held a conference in Rome in November 30, 1971. Since the world monetary crisis broke out in August 1971, it was the first time for the group of ten nations to negotiate in the hope of reaching a satisfactory solution. The European countries demanded that the American dollar must be devalued prior to the upward revaluation of their currencies, and that the American 10 percent import surcharge be removed so as to facilitate an appropriate realignment of exchange rates.

Each nation desires, of course, to restore equilibrium to its balance of payments. Nevertheless, no single nation's economy can possibly be strengthened unless the economies of other nations are strengthened as well. Accordingly, the beggar-thy-neighbor policy is equally harmful to all nations concerned. At the same

⁹Bernard Gwertzman's report from Moscow, *The New York Times*, February 7, 1971.

time the domination of world finance by one nation should be ended and we must realize that international trade has become too big to be financed any longer by old measures. Some economists are of the opinion that Special Drawing Rights or S.D.R. be made available like a reserve currency for borrowing from the International Monetary Fund, that trade and payments balances be settled only by S.D.R.'s, and that central banks of all nations transfer a fraction of their assets to the I.M.F. in exchange for S.D.R.'s.

Now that most of the industrial nations are facing economic crisis, and thus far no effective remedy has been found, the economists as well as political leaders are obliged to seek new measures instead of following the traditional means in bringing about a worldwide prosperity. Economically, every nation's very existence relies, as I have stressed more than once, on interdependence in every respect. Such crucial issues as monetary system, balance of payments, exchange rate, investments, resources allocation, full employment, ecological project, etc. are closely related to the welfare of all nations.

A common market on a Continental basis is not enough; some realignment of currencies among ten wealthy countries alone is no basic remedy; devaluation of the dollar or removal of import surcharges on the part of one country offers no miracle. Inasmuch as the economic illness is world-wide, the cure of it has to be sought on world basis. Now is the time to broaden our vision, to set us free from narrow nationalism, to take into account the well-being of mankind at large instead of my country alone, and to realize thoroughly that isolationism, protectionism and trade war are as disastrous as collective suicide.

For the sake of promoting the common weal of the whole world, undoubtedly it is of necessity to turn the European common market into a world common market, and to unify the national currencies of all nations in order that a world currency be issued by the world bank. As a result of this drastic reform we may anticipate that all hindrances to world economic recovery would be brought to an end sooner or later. All economic calamities, like political catastrophes, are man-made. Only through the common effort of man can a co-wealthy world economy be expected to thrive in the long run.

Chapter XI

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

Owing to the unprecedented achievement of science and technology together with tremendous military and economic power, postwar America has been playing the most important role in the world political arena. The destiny of the world hinges upon the vicissitudes of America. That America's moral obligation to the world is far greater than other nations' must be acknowledged by all Americans as well as all other peoples. Despite its unique affluence as enjoyed by the people, America, like other countries, is not free from internal contradiction and apprehension.

(1) *Thorny Problems Confronting America*

The post-New Deal economic order of America, which emancipated itself from the old Capitalism, gives rise to a new pattern and tends to a new goal akin to Co-wealthism rather than Socialism. On January 20, 1937, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his Second Inaugural Address said: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little." The majority of Americans, except the conservatives, are aware of the necessity of removing the maldistribution of wealth that widens the gap between the rich and poor. The reasons why the rich get richer and the poor get audited are partly due to loopholes in taxation and partly to favoritism. Inequitable distribution of wealth in America is revealed by the fact that, in 1950, the 100 largest manufacturing corporations owned 38.4 percent of all

the assets of manufacturing industries; in 1970, they owned 48.2 percent. In 1950, the 200 largest owned 48.8 percent; in 1970, their ownership amounted to 60 percent.

Senator Fred R. Harris in his article, "The Real Populism Fights Unequal Wealth," asserted: "A recent study by Senator William Proxmire's Joint Economic Committee points to \$63 billion in federal subsidies to business and others who don't deserve them. Economists Joseph Pechman and Benjamin Okner detail over \$77 billion in tax loopholes alone. Add in the estimated \$60 billion in over-charges by shared monopolies like the auto industry that can set prices without regard to the laws of supply and demand, and anyone can see that government action and inaction is redistributing income right now—in the wrong direction."

While the total population below the poverty level has been decreasing in the past decade—from 22 percent in 1959 to 13.4 percent in 1967—the gap between the rich and poor is still wide. An individual whose annual income is less than \$2,000, and a family of four people whose annual income is less than \$3,300, are regarded as poor. The average per-capita income increases year by year. For instance, in 1950, per-capita income was \$1,496; in 1970, it rose to \$3,921. The Americans, enjoying the highest living standard on earth, are not entirely free from hunger and malnutrition. There are 25 million people classed as poor. On the other hand, there are 153 persons in the United States who have a net worth of more than \$100 million each, according to a study published in April 1968 in *Fortune* magazine. That these wealthiest people spend lavishly whereas the 25 million poor are hungry poses one of the critical problems confronting the United States.

The American Gross National Product—G.N.P.—a little more than \$1,000-billion now, will reach \$2,000-billion by 1980. Meanwhile, in the decade between 1960 and 1970 the tax burden on every American nearly doubled, from \$711 to \$1348. By the same token the federal deficit in the last three fiscal years reached \$87 billion. While people pay more and more taxes, governments of all levels are deeper and deeper in debt.

Measures for the solution to American economic problem hinge upon the halting of inflation, restraint of the wage-price spiral, liberalization of international trade policy, more balanced sharing of economic responsibilities with allies, shifting war spending to domestic economic development, extension of more public

works, strict law-enforcement curbing monopoly and illegal windfalls of the privileged few, enforcement of tax reform, etc.

From different angles of observation America is simultaneously termed welfare state as well as corporate state. The name of welfare state links with the practice of the New Deal; whereas the name of corporate state is related to the alliance of big business with the government. The dominating influence of special interests in the government has long been resented by leaders of both parties, Republican and Democratic, let alone the liberal elements throughout the nation. President Eisenhower pointed out that the total influence of the "military-industrial complex" was felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government.

Senator George McGovern, the Democratic Presidential nominee, asserted on September 25, 1972 that the Nixon Administration was dominated by special interests in environmental and regulatory agencies. He also said that favoritism to big grain dealers in the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union, abandonment of antitrust action against the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, and Federal assistance to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and the Penn Central Railroad were symptomatic of the special interests of this Administration that have characterized it from the very first.

The increasing concentration of income and wealth in America, if not curbed promptly, would widen the gap between the rich and poor and would, worst of all, aggravate in no small measure the economic and political crisis. Americans cannot be happy and satisfied with the fact that, according to 1962 statistics, the richest 20 percent of all families own not only 41 percent of all income but 75 percent of all assets in America. Maximum size is not necessarily maximum efficiency. Accordingly, big business and industrial giants, despite their remarkable contribution in enhancing mass production and national wealth, must be controlled by antitrust laws and other legislation so as to reduce the dominance of special interests and simultaneously make the free economy more efficient.

Now it behooves the government to re-evaluate what has been done wrong. Social programs and national goals must be designed more effectively and defined more specifically. In response to the desperate need for improvement, both parties' liberal

leaders are strongly advocating for tax reform, along with strict law-enforcement against the economic giants with a view to achieving equitable distribution of wealth.

According to a U.S. Treasury study, personal income in the U.S. totals about \$860 billion annually; only \$405 billion of that is reached by federal income tax law. Moreover, based on the Treasury's analysis of tax returns for 1970, there were 106 people with gross incomes of more than \$200,000 who paid no federal income tax. It is no wonder that Governor Wallace in his 1972 Presidential primary campaign angrily declared: "We are sick and tired of the average citizen being taxed to death while these multi-billionaires . . . go without paying taxes."

Closing tax loopholes, ending the depletion allowances for oil and natural gas industry, and phasing out other corporate tax privileges are being advocated by Democratic leaders such as Senators Hubert Humphrey, George McGovern, Edmund Muskie and Governor Wallace. According to Senator McGovern's calculations reforms in the corporate tax would bring in \$17 billion a year, changes in estate and gift taxes paid mostly by the rich would yield 5 billion more. A large part of the increased revenue should, Senator McGovern maintains, be passed on to the states and localities to help pay for primary and secondary education. This would lead to more federal aid for the needy and relief from property-tax burdens without imposing a national sales tax.

As a matter of fact, in the past many tax reforms were enacted by Congress, though the legislation was made more complex. The tax reform would be considerably drastic had Senator McGovern won the Presidency in 1972. While tax reform means in no way a sort of panacea for solving all the economic problems once and for all, it would no doubt pave the way for advancing domestic economic development in no small degree. Meanwhile, more effective measures would be such as internationally encouraging freer trade in goods and services and the flow of capital, stabilizing the value of the U.S. dollar and adjusting the balance-of-payments through the International Fund, taking the lead in maintaining international equilibrium, bringing about monetary reform and strengthening the I.M.F.'s Special Drawing Rights, or paper gold, so as to avoid monetary crisis and imbalance between surplus and deficit in this country as well as other countries. In short, American affluence depends upon the prosperity of the

whole world. Thus, the final solution to American economic problem rests on both domestic change and international co-operation. Of late, President Nixon's talk at the meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington indicates a good start.

Apart from the economic headache many Americans have been suffering from such abuses as drugs, alcoholism, and crime. Mr. Myles Ambrose, head of the Justice Department's Office for Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, told us that in 1960 the heroin addicts were in the neighborhood of 55,000; after 12 years, in 1972, the heroin addicts amounted to 560,000. A tenfold increase in the last decade poses a serious problem over which every American cannot but be deeply concerned. Mr. Ambrose said: "What you find now in the United States is a considerable mixture of usage of cocaine and heroin and marijuana and hashish and amphetamines and barbiturates and LSD. You get people who experiment with many drugs."¹

This horrible drug abuse—a spreading menace—threatens the health, welfare and security of all Americans. To get rid of this scourge before it is too late is the primary responsibility on the shoulders of the government, cultural and religious groups. Many, if not all, drug addicts are bound to commit crime in view of the fact that it costs \$30 to \$40 a day to support the habit of a heroin addict; consequently he has to get the money through shoplifting or bank robbery, murderous assault and housebreaking. 20 million people in the U.S. claim that they have used marijuana at one time, and half a million people are involved with other dangerous drugs. The death rate associated with drug use has been rising. In New York, for instance, there were 4,254 deaths from narcotics abuse from 1960 through 1969, and most of them are teenagers.

Another drug problem in America is alcoholism. Ten million alcoholics cost billions of dollars. It is estimated that half of the nation's traffic fatalities are caused by accidents involving drunken drivers, and tens of thousands of people die each year from ailments related to alcohol. The annual spending for dealing with drug abuse, including the value of property stolen by addicts, combatting drug-related crime, value of potential production lost due to drug addiction, treatments of addicts, prevention and re-

¹U.S. News and World Report, April 3, 1972.

search, amounts to \$4.7 billion.² America has been hit hardest by narcotics smuggled from such countries as Turkey, France, Thailand, Mexico, etc. America spent 35 million dollars in 1972 for pushing anti-drug activities abroad. Every year America seizes large quantities of narcotics smuggled from various foreign ports. In 1971 U.S. Customs seized 1,109 pounds of heroin at American ports of entry. In the same year a shrimp boat ready to leave Marseilles harbor for America with approximately \$183 million's worth of heroin was captured. Despite the worldwide campaign against drug traffic, the smuggling route has not been blocked completely. Probably it can never be stopped entirely unless more effective international control is enacted.

As a result of spreading drug abuse together with unemployment, racial discrimination, ghettos, inadequate police forces and sluggish law-enforcement, the extremists' violence and crime have been rising day by day. Nobody in an American city can go out at night without fearing to be robbed and stabbed. Stealing a car, raping a woman, mugging a pedestrian becomes a daily concern of everybody, let alone vandalism, bombing and arson. Up to 1972, more than \$2.3 billion has been distributed to the states for the purpose of curbing crime. Yet it failed to keep crime from rising. In the past five years it has risen 32 percent. According to the F.B.I.'s report there were 5,995,200 serious crimes in 1971, an increase of 410,000 over 1970.

Moreover, apart from the ordinary crime, organized crime has also been surging in America. According to FBI investigations convictions of organized crime have more than tripled in 4 years. Convictions in 1967 amounted to 179, whereas in 1971 they were increased to 631. The influential members, or bosses, of this underworld organization are not less than 5,000. The annual gross receipts, based on a Presidential commission's estimate, has reached 50 billion dollars. Mr. Henry E. Peterson, head of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, defines it thus: "As a working definition, I describe organized crime as a criminal organization which operates on a daily basis and over a long period of time in an atmosphere of relative safety."³

For combating organized crime both federal and state gov-

²U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 11, 1972.

³U.S. News and World Report, June 5, 1972.

ernments spent \$10.1 billion in 1971. The cost of fighting crime has tripled in the past decade. Mr. Peterson pointed out that the cost of dealing with criminals exceed \$42 for every man, woman and child in the United States, and it was almost \$6 more than the individual expense in 1969. The charges brought against the underworld criminals are mostly related to tax evasion, bribery, bank robbery, theft of interstate securities, and counterfeiting securities.

The causes of the rising crime rate are usually ascribed to the inadequate police forces and the inefficiency of the judicial system, such as the insufficiency of competent judges and prosecutors and the delay of trials. Accordingly, there is no fear of punishment on the part of lawbreaking elements. This is a part of the story. The crime rate would have been curbed had the war against poverty and drug abuse been won. By the same token, there should be no poverty problem in an affluent society. The government should have paid more attention to the equitable distribution of wealth through a fair and progressive taxation together with more economically fair legislations in the way of bridging the gap between the rich and poor. Meanwhile, the evil of narcotics should have been prevented in no small measure by virtue of a more effective political and educational administration.

It is simply common sense that lawbreaking can be better cured by law-abiding habits, which can only be effectively cultivated by education. The main trouble with American education is that discipline and moral teaching are neglected in schools. Consequently, teachers, who are afraid of the students, cannot but shut their eyes to the students' misdemeanors. As a result of the disappearance of discipline, teachers are assaulted frequently, school property damaged, absenteeism enhanced, and, worst of all, drug addicts and narcotics selling are being increased by leaps and bounds. No one can overlook the sad fact that 85 percent of a certain high school's students in San Francisco are victims of narcotics. It is also reported that some teachers themselves are drug users and sellers.

Most, if not all, American citizens, especially intellectuals, are aware of the unprecedented national crisis caused by the fiasco of education. One hears, time and again, the warning from different directions in respect to the imperative of moral revival. Prof. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, a Nobel laureate and author of

The Crazy Ape, boldly as well as sincerely admonishes: "The overriding problem is how to get out of this situation before we pass the point of no return. How to bring this country back to the principles on which it was founded, adjusting it to the progress of science and technology. . . . The present patchwork will not help; only a complete revision will do. We must urgently start Americanizing America instead of Vietnamizing Vietnam."⁴

Another prominent person voiced his deep concern with regard to the problem of moral depravity in this way: "Today we are being cut adrift from the type of humanizing authority which in the past shaped the character of our people. . . . We respected and grew to maturity with teachers, parents, neighbors, ministers and employers—each imparting their values to us. These relationships were something larger than ourselves, but never so large as to be remote, impersonal or indifferent. We gained from them an inner strength, a sense of belonging as well as responsibility to others. . . . Sadly, this is not the portrait of contemporary American life. The refuge we once found in family and other community relationship is a fading concept. . . . It has become increasingly fashionable to question and attack the most basic elements of our society. It is said that religion is irrelevant, our democracy is a sham, the free enterprise system has failed, and that somehow America has become wholly selfish, materialistic, racist society—with unworthy goals and warped priorities."⁵

The aforesaid admonition of Mr. Lewis F. Powell, Jr., U.S. Supreme Court Justice, focused mainly on home ethics rather than school discipline, which is, it seems to me, more significant than the moral cultivation at home. However, home ethics should by no means be slighted. It should be closely linked with the moral training of the school. Undeniably home education must be stressed side by side with social and school education in relation to the shaping of youngsters' character.

The defect of present American education lies in the over-emphasis on intellectual and technical training rather than moral molding. 3R training and character development must go hand in

⁴Prof. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi's article, "America Is All Upside Down," *New York Times*, September 26, 1971.

⁵Lewis F. Powell's article, "The Ethics of the Home," *The New York Times*, August 31, 1972.

hand simultaneously. Both virtue and knowledge, just like two wings of a bird, should be well balanced and equally nurtured with adequate attention. America, as a leading nation in the free world, ought to broaden its citizens' world outlook in such a way as President Franklin D. Roosevelt declared, in his Fourth Term Inaugural Address, that "We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community." To set the U.S. youth free from the shackles of isolationism, ultra-nationalism, racism, extremism and sensualism, which had hitherto been the common ideological illness of human beings everywhere, is the primary objective of education.

In attaining this noble goal there is an imperative need of a new philosophy of education based on the teaching of new ethics, including the items such as how to form good habits; how to mold noble character; how to become a good citizen; how to insure mental and physical health by living a moral life; how to build the sense of responsibility and the mood of lawabiding tendency; how to be free from the abuses of drugs, alcohol and gambling; how to live together with one's fellow human beings peacefully; how to broaden one's world outlook so as to be free from narrow nationalism, racism, hatred, and bigotry; and finally, the most important of all, how to nurture such basic virtues as charity, integrity, faithfulness, modesty and tolerance.

A comprehensive textbook on new ethics for the classroom must be well prepared by scholars versed in moral philosophy and experienced in human and international relations. There should be two kinds of ethical textbook, one for the senior high school and the other for the junior high school. Moral training in grade school should be carried on through the specially prepared films based on various moral stories together with the deeds of moral teachers of various lands. Such films must be shown at least once a week and the attendance of all students required. Apart from the showing of films there must be one hour in every week for teaching elementary ethics in every class of different grade. This elementary course for moral training should be regarded as the top priority in educational reform on which depends the revival of American morality.

All material on new ethics, especially that of elementary ethics for the grade school, should be made available to the students' parents so as to strengthen the tie between school and home and facilitate the development of youngsters' character. Only when

the moral education is satisfactorily brought about can the national security be permanently ensured. It behooves the foresighted leaders in various fields to take into account this vital problem and act promptly so that the next generation will live a better life.

It goes without saying that moral fostering and habit-forming are inseparable, because the latter is the foundation of the former. Children's habits must be well shaped by their parents at home and teachers at the kindergarten. The youngsters of both sexes are, as a whole, emulative and fond of imitation. Teachers of various levels of schools should utilize this psychologically essential characteristic of youth to improve the students' habit. It is, therefore, imperative to encourage emulation by such measures as choosing some morally well-behaved students as paragons, giving them a certificate of honor and listing their names in the hall of fame. In addition to this kind of psychological encouragement, all paragons should be further inspired by granting them financial aid.

Younger men need more inspiration than adults, and the most effective way to animate them is constantly offering them morally worthy hetero-suggestions through the press media, television, movie and radio broadcasting. Especially the editors of newspapers and directors of movies ought to pay more attention to the problem of how to promote the moral standards of the younger generation. Daily quoting, for instance, of noted maxims of moral teachers, past and contemporary, together with proverbs of various lands having significant bearing on morality in all press media and other publicity agencies' publications, would render an invaluable service for the development of youngsters' moral life.

When I was a student in high school I was deeply impressed as well as immensely influenced by the sayings of such great moral teachers as Jesus, Socrates, Confucius, etc. The following quotations, which were firmly implanted in my mind, have long been the cornerstone of my philosophy of life.

"You shall love your neighbor as yourself." (Jesus)

"No evil can happen to a good man either in life or after death." (Socrates)

"Do not give others what you do not like." (Confucius)

"Consider the world to be one family, China one person." (Li-yuen, Li Ki)

"All within the four seas are brothers." (Tzu-hsia, Confucius' disciple)

"Regard others' person as your own person, and regard others' country as your own country." (Mo Tzu)

"With malice toward none; with charity for all." (Abraham Lincoln)

Many axioms in different nations are just as useful as the aforesaid ones. They should be selectively collected and adopted as a manual by all schools with a view to fostering youth's character. It would be very helpful to every youth who possess the manual to bear the sayings in mind. The future of America, as I mentioned previously, depends mainly upon the young generation, whose character would no doubt determine the vicissitudes of this nation. Let all Americans realize that only through a good and well-balanced education—an educational system based on parallel development of both virtues and knowledge—can the national security be safeguarded. This is the fundamental solution to the thorny problems of racism, terrorism, drug abuse and other lawlessness.

(2) *America in the Eyes of Immigrants*

While America is not a paradise, it is moving toward it more swiftly than many other nations. America is the most affluent, most powerful, and most free country of the world. Nevertheless, no nation on earth can be expected to be completely free from drawbacks. America is no exception to this rule. No sensible man in this country can shut his eyes to the deplorable facts such as racial tension, juvenile delinquency, narcotics addiction, poverty-stricken slums, bureaucracy, inflation, unemployment and campus unrest, though shared in common by most of the countries in other parts of the planet, which have been threatening the United States in no small degree. This is, however, one side of the coin; the other side is totally different.

The most striking and praiseworthy achievement and contribution of the United States may be summarized as the following: militarily, America is the first atomic power of the world. Its military supremacy has kept the weak and small nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America from being dominated by the Communist tyranny. America won two world wars, but possesses no enemy's territory whatsoever.

Economically, never before in world history has the world owed so much in the way of recovery, development, relief, etc.

as to the United States. The total amount of American foreign aid from 1940 through 1960 was worth more than \$114 billions. By the end of 1961, America provided free food for 64 million people overseas. During the Kennedy Administration alone America gave India 20 million tons of wheat and 1.6 million tons of rice. In recent years, despite the cut on foreign aid by Congress, the annual average has been more than \$2.5 billion. The American national economy grows so swiftly that its gross national product in 1972 leaped to a record of approximately \$2,000 billion. In 1972, the average spending of every American amounts to \$3,300; and there are 12 million families which earn more than \$15,000 a year.

Scientifically, America in the past decade has made outstanding contributions to mankind. Not only have American scientists succeeded in the first landing on the moon, along with other spectacular space explorations, but also they have achieved tremendously in weather modification, in developing frontiers of the ocean floor, and in bringing about remarkable breakthroughs in medicine. As a result scientific progress has enhanced productivity as well as consumption. The United States, forming 6 percent of the world population, consumes almost 40 percent of the world's resources. A population which was 95 percent rural in 1790 is now 70 percent urban. As early as 1960, 78 percent of American households owned at least one motor car.

In December 1967, Commander Scott Carpenter, astronaut turned aquanaut, who spent 30 consecutive days down on the ocean floor, told of the Navy's projected vehicles for ocean-floor research. This implies that roughly two-thirds of the planet's surface, hitherto mostly inaccessible except for vertical probes, will be opened to exploration and exploitation. Meanwhile, American scientists have tried and partly succeeded in curbing storms by seeding. Man-made rain has also been made available. Mind control, which is in the process of experimentation, is not beyond the power of scientists. In December 1965, a scientist from Yale University showed a film demonstrating that aggressiveness in monkeys could be turned on or off at will by a radio-control mechanism. The device sent signals to electrodes implanted in the animal's brain. This is the first time American chemists, biochemists, geneticists, anatomists, pharmacologists and psychologists have worked in concert in an attempt to comprehend the operations of the brain.

The green revolution has increased food production, and other scientific innovations have promoted the well-being of human beings considerably. In 1965, American production of synthetic rubber had increased fourfold, and American imports of natural rubber had declined by nearly 50 percent. By constructing "agro-industrial complexes," which would use atomic energy to generate large quantities of electric power for industry and desalinated water for irrigation, agriculture would tremendously improved.

As for scientific breakthroughs in medicine during the past two decades, we have to admire such achievements as open-heart surgery, including transplants, repairs, electrical "pacemakers" and artificial valves; as kidney transplants and artificial kidneys; as new drugs for high blood pressure, tuberculosis and mental illness; as radioactive agents for pinpointing and treating trouble spots in the body; and as better understanding of human cells.

Morally, America is by no means weaker than its military, economic and scientific forces. American forefathers, like modern immigrants, coming to this new land with new aspiration advocated and lived a new life of freedom and democracy. The foundation of American civilization was from the very beginning built upon the political philosophy that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (Cf. the Declaration of Independence.)

This cultural heritage based on the aforesaid political philosophy was handed down from generation to generation without interruption, though sometimes it declined somewhat as is happening today in consequence of educational failure. The maxims, for example, of American thinkers and statesmen stand for the spirit of American national purpose, which is essentially based on the traditional ethics that made the American nationality exactly what it is today. I myself, as one of numerous immigrants, have always been inspired by the famous sayings of the past great Americans. Those sayings had undoubtedly a tremendous impact upon the formation of American state policy both at home and abroad. It is therefore worthwhile to quote some of them in the interest of those who are concerned for the future of America.

"The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time."
(Thomas Jefferson)

"Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire—conscience." (George Washington)

"Among free men there can be no successful appeal from the ballot to the bullet." (Abraham Lincoln)

"That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (*Ibid.*)

"With malice toward none; with charity for all. . . ." (*Ibid.*)

"There never was a good war or a bad peace." (Benjamin Franklin)

"The world is my country, all mankind are my brethren." (Thomas Paine)

"To do good is my religion." (*Ibid.*)

"The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out." (Ralph Waldo Emerson)

"Great men are they who see that spiritual is stronger than any material force; that thoughts rule the world." (*Ibid.*)

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, in peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away. We have learned that we must live as men, and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community." (Franklin Delano Roosevelt)

"The world must be made safe for democracy." (Woodrow Wilson)

"Never forget that we created this nation, not to serve ourselves, but to serve mankind." (*Ibid.*)

"Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." (John F. Kennedy)

"It is not our military might, or our higher standard of living, that has most distinguished us from our adversaries. It is our belief that the state is the servant of the citizen and not its master. . . . Every area of trouble gives out a ray of hope, and the one unchangeable certainty is that nothing is certain or unchangeable. . . . And the way of the past shows clearly that freedom, not coercion, is the wave of the future." (*Ibid.*)

Apart from my observation, we should heed other immigrants' remarks as well. First of all let me refer to the comment of Prof. Tung-yu Chia, who frankly states: "I immigrated to America because it is the cradle of democracy which enables everybody to enjoy liberty and equal opportunity. Although the political and

economic institutions in America are far from being ideal, as desired by the people, it is the only satisfactory system one can find on this planet." Prof. Fong Wong, another immigrant from China, told the writer the other day: "Materially, the United States is unique in all respects; spiritually, it is retrogressive in some measure. It is of great necessity to launch a nationwide movement for moral rebuilding by means of educational reform and religious awakening. It is, however, a miracle that so many immigrants coming from different nations with different cultural backgrounds were and still are so dedicated to the adopted country that they fought and died for America in the interest of the common cause. That America is a melting pot is by no means dubious. So far as its assimilation of divergent races and cultures is concerned, America overmatches all other nations." Finally Prof. Wong emphatically asserts: "I can in no respect concur with that sort of ridiculous comment that the United States will decline as the Roman Empire; because I am convinced that, so long as the majority of American people realize the hazards of sensualism, racism, authoritarianism and plutocracy, the United States will permanently remain strong and prosperous."

By reading another immigrant, Janina Atkins' article "I Love America," published on November 26, 1970 in the *New York Times*, both Americans and non-Americans would have a better understanding and deeper appreciation of American democratic institutions. Janina Atkins was a journalist in Poland and is now a librarian at the Lehman College of the City University of New York. The following sketchy statement is her cordial tribute to her adopted country.

"Just over six years ago, I came to this country with \$2.60 in my purse . . . I was an immigrant girl hoping for a new life and happiness in a strange new country. Mine is not a spectacular success story, nor is that of my husband. We both left the old country to seek a new beginning in the free world of America. We did not know each other at that time, but we met in New York City. We had to face the same problems. Our career qualifications were of little use; we had language difficulties, no steady jobs, no family, few friends. It was easy to be despondent.

"But, slowly, times changed. There is something in the air of America that filled my soul with a feeling of independence, and independence begot strength. There is no one here to lead

you by the hand, but also to order you about. Once you land in America, you are left to yourself to shape your own future, to test yourself. This, I suppose, is what living in freedom means.

"We started at the bottom—no other choice. Working by day—I as a secretary, my husband as a clerk—and studying by night, we took the old route so many Americans have taken. Whatever we earned went for rent, food, tuition at Columbia University, books. An education loan from New York State helped. Naturally we did not save a cent. But we believed in the future. And the future did not disappoint us.

"Today we work in our new profession as librarians. My husband is studying for his doctorate. We live in a comfortable apartment in mid-Manhattan. Weekends we drive to the country in a white-and-red car—a dream I've always had. Every year we travel to some faraway place. All this, we know, we owe to ourselves. And to the most hospitable and beautiful country in the world.

"Among some of our American-born friends it is not fashionable to be enthusiastic about America. There is Vietnam; there are drugs, urban and racial conflicts, poverty, pollution. Undoubtedly, this country faces urgent and serious problems. But what we, the newcomers, see are not only the problems but also democratic solutions being sought and applied. When, last November, I cast my vote as a free citizen of a free country for the first time, only then did I truly realize what it means to have the power of participation in a democratic government.

"I love America because nobody pays attention to my accent. Only out of curiosity do people ask me 'Where are you from?' They accept me for what I am. They do not question my ancestry, my faith, my political beliefs. I love this country because when I want to move from one place to another I do not have to ask permission. . . . I love it because I do not have to stand in line for hours to buy a piece of tough, fat meat. I love it because, even with inflation, I do not have to pay a day's earnings for a small chicken.

"I love America because America trusts me. When I go into a shop to buy a pair of shoes, I am not asked to produce my identity card. I love it because my mail is not censored, my phone is not tapped, my conversation is not reported to the secret police.

"Sometimes, when I walk with my husband through the streets

of New York, all of a sudden we stop, look at each other, and smile and kiss. People think we are in love, and it is true. But we are also in love with America. Standing in the street, amid the noise and pollution, we suddenly realize what luck and what joy it is to live in a free country."

I am sure every immigrant, especially those who come from the Communist countries, cannot but be deeply moved by the heartfelt statement of Janina Atkins. Meanwhile, I am also sure most, if not all, of the immigrants would share with me the same feeling that the longer one lives in this country the more one loves it. While there are many thorny problems to be solved and many short-comings need to be remedied, it is American's firm conviction that no difficulties cannot be overcome, no shortcomings cannot be remedied, and no man-made evils, no matter how grave they may be, cannot be eliminated by man.

(3) *American Ideal and Co-wealthism*

The fate of America is going to be shaped by nobody else but Americans ourselves. That a country is made what it is by what its people believe, think and aspire to is indubitable. In other words, every nation is, and must be, guided by a goal or ideal short of which the possibility of its survival, let alone prosperity, is anything but great. America owes its success and grandeur to its lofty ideal, which is the source of courage, adventure, determination and self-sacrifice. Despite the fact that moral education, welfare, health and fair economic opportunities are neglected, a voice calling for change finds an enthusiastic echo in the heart of the masses.

As a result of industrialization and mass production, pollution parallels affluence. Neither should the accumulation of wealth nor the enjoyment of a rising material standard of life be considered the goal of life. A more desirable form of life is what is based on value and spiritual development. Seeking material satisfaction alone would make life meaningless as well as valueless. Jesus said: "For what does it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?" As man shall not live by bread alone, so the value of life does not solely rely on material abundance.

Dr. Rene Dubos, the distinguished biologist, pointed out in the conference held at Portland State University in 1971 that the

rising material standard of living that is the goal of societies committed to economic growth paradoxically produces a poor quality of life; a man may have more income but a less comfortable existence. He also warned that a counter-culture was developing and it is a profound rejection of the absurdities of our society. Many thinking men in the United States are of the opinion that science and technology must be within our control or we shall be the prisoners of the machine. Meanwhile many American philosophers and scientists express their deep concern that the future of mankind is anything but bright unless our moral life can keep pace with our scientific knowledge. Indeed, man has learned a good deal about his environment, but very little about himself. "Know thyself," as Socrates emphasized, should no longer be neglected if we desire to live a life full of meaning and value.

President Nixon is not a pessimist, but occasionally he betrays his pessimism concerning the decline of American moral strength. He has said: "The critical question is whether the United States will be a healthy nation in terms of its moral strength." In July 1971, commenting on the pseudo-classical architecture of American public buildings, President Nixon asserted: "Sometimes when I see those columns I think of seeing them in Greece and Rome, and I think of what happened in Greece and Rome—and you see only what is left of great civilizations of the past. As they became wealthy, as they lost their will to live, to improve, they grew subject to the decadence that destroys the civilization. The United States is reaching that period."

Decius, the Roman Emperor, realized that it was impossible to replace the Roman greatness without restoring public virtue, ancient principles and manners and the oppressed majority of the laws. Decius' warning is no doubt a good lesson for today's America, whose future hinges exactly upon the restoration of public virtue. It is encouraging to learn that the political leaders in America are aware of the danger of moral degeneration and are determined to set aside all the roadblocks that hamper the revival of moral life. With regard to the destiny of America, President Lyndon B. Johnson's comment seems to be more optimistic. In his address at the Scott and White Clinic in Temple, Tex. in September, 1972, Mr. Johnson declared: "I live—as I have always worked—by the faith that with each passing day, we are always approaching nearer to the beginning of a new springtime."

It is by that perspective I see our country now. . . . For too long, we have permitted the dark perceptions to pervade our minds. Day after day, month after month, the portrayal of America as unclean, unjust and unworthy has been ground into the consciousness of our people. . . . When we permit these dark perceptions to dominate us, we are allowing our future to be shaped by visions that are small and mean and diminishing to our potential."

Advocating for change, it shows clearly that Mr. Johnson is not unaware of what is wrong with America. Rather, what he feels the right thing to do lies in the more positive way of dealing with the urgent problems confronting us. He is far from being a Pollyanna, believing everything American is perfect. He insists on full employment, opportunity for all, equal justice under the law for all citizens. He is strongly in favor of change and emphatically asserted: "Our real challenge lies not in suppressing change but utilizing it to vitalize and energize our society. Change is not our enemy. On the contrary, this society has no deadlier danger than refusal to change."

In order to make America closer to the national ideal as proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, we should not close our eyes to new ideas. Instead we must listen carefully to what is set forth by the young generation. It is fair to say that all Americans, liberals, conservatives and middle-of-the-roads alike, are striving for the realization of the common ideal. No matter whether it is New Deal, Fair Deal or Great Society, the basic goal they share in common, it seems to me, is nothing other than the promotion of the common weal for all—approaching to the road of Co-wealthism. This is the road departing from both Capitalism and Socialism; it is the road diverging from both totalitarianism and ultra-nationalism; and finally it is the road leading to lasting world peace and prosperity.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, former Vice President, in response to the inquiry of the *New York Times* on March 4, 1972 as to why he is running for President, voiced his opinion about America's future as optimistically as Mr. Lyndon Johnson. Senator Humphrey said: "We must reject the counsel of those who seek to divide us, those who use the tactics of hate and fear, those who seek to reverse our progress toward equal opportunity for all people. Theirs is the message of despair. And America needs a

message of hope. I am optimistic about America's future. I seek not only the Presidency but to lift the spirit of the people."

Mr. Humphrey is convinced that building a better America means that all Americans should enjoy equal opportunity of receiving education, of getting jobs, of obtaining good medical treatment, and of living a decent life—a happy and abundant life both materially and spiritually. In order to build a better America he also advocates tax reform, ending unfair tax privileges and closing tax loopholes. Furthermore, he emphasizes that the first duty of government is to guarantee safety by virtue of effective and efficient law enforcement.

In the past decade many remarkable legislations introduced by Senator Humphrey were focused on defending civil rights, insuring national security, championing human dignity and freedom, and maintaining world peace. Apart from those imperative legislations, he introduced another plan aimed at revitalizing rural America by making financing available for a wide range of community projects with a view to breathing a new life into rural America. Actually he has long been making great efforts in realizing his ideal, which bears close resemblance in spirit to Co-wealthism. In his letter addressed to me on July 19, 1963, Senator Humphrey stated: "I agree that my message has many points in common with your Co-wealthism and the New Age."

In fact, he is the first senator to have paid so much attention to and worked so hard for the betterment of farmers' living. He pointed out in his project for revitalizing rural America that since World War II, the population of the United States has grown by 55 million people. The value of goods and services we produce has grown from \$280 billion a year to nearly \$1 trillion. But 3 million farms have disappeared in the technological revolution. More than 30 million people, according to his assessment, have abandoned the small farms and towns for the cities, so that 75 percent of our people are crowded onto less than 2 percent of the land. He warned that if these 100 million new Americans were to live in newly created communities, a city the size of Portland, Ore., would have to be created every 30 days over the next 30 years.

It is Mr. Humphrey's ideal as well as his hope that all Americans should be able to enjoy all the benefits of life, liberty and property not only in big cities, not only in suburbs, but all

over America. He therefore suggests that new sources of financial assistance be earmarked for the development of rural America. That is, financing for business and industrial development, for new payrolls and new jobs, for better schools, for medical centers and hospitals close to the people, for parks and recreation areas, for improved transportation systems, for day-care facilities, museums and cultural centers, for desperately needed housing. Besides, he insists on providing for water and sewer systems, waste disposal plants, community colleges, rural slum clearance, streets and highways, police and fire stations, and libraries.

In his article published in the *Los Angeles Times* on September 26, 1971, Mr. Humphrey appealed to the nation: "We know that if there is to be a healthy, productive, prosperous and free America, we must rejuvenate, revitalize and modernize the vast areas of rural America. . . . The issue at hand is the nation's destiny."

(4) *Is the Vietnam War Consistent with American Ideals?*

It is untrue to regard the Americans as extreme materialists. On the contrary, "America," as President Woodrow Wilson remarked in 1919, "is the only idealistic nation in the world." In fact, the Pilgrims, Puritans and the later immigrants from Europe all felt that they had a common ideal, namely, seeking freedom in a new continent, on the one hand; and fulfilling a mission defending freedom for other peoples, on the other hand. The emancipation of Negroes, the participation in two world wars, the Marshall Plan, the involvement in the Korean War, and the commitment in NATO and Indo-China indicate the same motivation that human dignity and freedom must by all means be safeguarded.

But the Vietnam War, owing to steady escalation and unprecedented procrastination, together with immense loss of life and property has created the greatest controversy in American history. Those who justify the intervention in Vietnam maintain that North Vietnam is the aggressor and its unprovoked attack on South Vietnam is obviously in violation of the Geneva accords of 1954 and 1962. To safeguard the independence and freedom of South Vietnam, for Washington and the supporters of intervention, is the sacred obligation of America. If South Vietnam were engulfed by Communists, it would affect the whole of Indo-China and

eventually the security of Southeast Asia would be threatened.

President Nixon made it very clear by asserting on April 26, 1972: "We are not trying to conquer North Vietnam or any other country in this world. We want no territory. We seek no bases. We have offered the most generous peace terms. . . . But we will not be defeated; and we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression." It would, President Nixon believes, amount to a renunciation of American morality were South Vietnam dominated by Communists in consequence of unconditional retreat on the part of America.

Ironically, those who are opposed to the Vietnam War also base their arguments on morality. They are convinced that this war is immoral from the point of view of justice and humanitarianism. Up to 1971, the United States has expended more than 45,000 American lives and \$100 billion worth of American resources with a view to keeping South Vietnam from being taken over by the Communists. Mr. Herbert Mitgang, a member of the editorial board of the *New York Times*, pointed out in his article "The Nonwhite War" that in the years 1970 and 1971, about 400,000 people have been killed throughout Indo-China. He said: "The people displaced from their homes by the war's continuation in the last two years include: 1,850,000 South Vietnam refugees; 2,000,000 Cambodian refugees; 250,000 Laotian refugees and an unknown number of North Vietnamese. South Vietnam has suffered the most; the total number of refugees since the war began is 8,000,000, almost one-half of the South Vietnamese population."⁶

Prof. Jefferson B. Fordham of the University of Pennsylvania in his letter to the *New York Times* on August 9, 1972 voiced his indignation thus: "What moral basis is there for the massive bombing of North Vietnam that is going on relentlessly by order of the President? . . . What credibility can we hope to have before the larger community of man when we make such brutal and irresponsible use of power? What we are doing is intolerable in the sight of men and women who believe in love and beauty and the dignity of human life."

Probably the remarks of Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, former editor of *Foreign Affairs*, present a more appropriate and a more forceful argument in assessing the American involvement in

Vietnam. On the fiftieth anniversary of *Foreign Affairs* he wrote: "The war in Vietnam has been the longest and in some ways the most calamitous war in our history. It has rent the American people apart, spiritually and politically. It is a war which has not been and could not be won. . . . The methods we have used in fighting the war have scandalized and disgusted public opinion in almost all foreign countries."

When North Vietnam starts to invade South Vietnam, Washington should simultaneously refer the dispute to the United Nations for a peaceful settlement instead of resorting to force and military aid singlehandedly. That the United States, the most powerful nation of the world, cannot bring such a small and weak country as North Vietnam to terms seems absolutely incredible. The war between America and North Vietnam resembles the fighting between a big tiger and a little sheep. But the little sheep is backed up by two fierce animals—a dragon and a bear. Such being the case, how can the tiger be expected to win the fighting? It is evidently the wrong war fought in the wrong time, at the wrong place, and, worst of all, by the wrong strategy. The military commitment should have been avoided in the very beginning. The end, based on an ideal of defending freedom of South Vietnam, is perfectly justifiable; but not the means.

First of all, we must realize that Communist expansion can by no means be curbed by guns and bombs. It is an ideological problem which can only be solved by a better ideology—a more progressive political philosophy than Marxian philosophy. Championing freedom and democracy has long been the traditional ideal and solemn responsibility of America. Wherever and whenever human freedom is at the mercy of the Communists, it is an unavoidable duty of America to meet the Communist challenge unhesitatingly. Slavery and tyranny should in no way be tolerated, so that the advance of civilization will not be blocked.

It is a tragedy that one-third of our fellow human-beings have been enslaved by the Communist regime, whose ambition of dominating the whole world would sooner or later succeed, if it were not for the intervention of America. No developing nation in Asia, Africa and Latin America could be immune from Communist subversion and infiltration, had not America been the leading power serving as a spiritual bulwark of freedom. American world commitment, like NATO, SEATO, military

⁶*The New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1972.

bases overseas, foreign aid, etc., has been misunderstood and condemned by the Communist bloc as "imperialist aggression."

In fact, the American commitment in Vietnam is merely a ring among the whole chain of its world involvements. The primary purpose of its involvement in different parts of the world aims at holding the Communist expansion in check so as to keep the non-Communist nations free from Communist domination. Its involvement in Vietnam is just as imperative and justifiable as its action in Korea. The only difference is that the Korean War was conducted under the flag of the United Nations, whereas the Vietnam War has been operated by the United States single-handedly. Instead of being supported by a world organization, it becomes the target of world opinion's censure, though the censure is unfair in point of fact.

President John F. Kennedy, in his speech at a Chicago rally on Nov. 5, 1960, made it very clear that the real issue is world freedom or world slavery—stopping the Communist advance which, he pointed out, in eight years has penetrated deep into Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. He told the rally: "We have erred in regarding Mr. Khrushchev as the enemy. He only personifies the enemy—and that enemy is the relentless, tireless Communist system infiltrating the world's less prosperous areas."

Mr. Kennedy's approval of the Vietnam commitment is based on his conviction: "Our moral and physical strength begins at home, as already discussed. But it includes our military strength as well. So long as fanaticism and fear brood over the affairs of men, we must arm to deter others from aggression."⁷ Moreover, President Kennedy firmly believed that the wave of future lies in national independence and freedom. On March 23, 1962, he told the students thus: "No one who examines the modern world can doubt that the great currents of history are carrying the world away from the monolithic idea toward the pluralistic idea—away from Communism and toward national independence and freedom."

While doubting the possibility of conquering the world by a single dogmatic creed, President Kennedy considered it the height of folly to appropriate large sums of money for military organization and let the free countries pass into the Communist bloc.

⁷State of the Union message to Congress, Jan. 11, 1962.

Undoubtedly, the main reason for this approval of getting America involved in the Vietnam confrontation lay in the fact that Communist China, whose ambition has long been focused on world domination by people's revolution, is the mighty supporter of North Vietnam. In the event of the Communists' takeover of South Vietnam, it would be a tremendous threat to the whole of Southeast Asia.

Accordingly, in his news conference in Washington held on August 1st, 1963, President Kennedy frankly warned: "We find a great powerful force in China organized and directed by the government along Stalinist lines, surrounded by weak countries. So this we regard as a menacing situation. . . . I would regard that combination, if it is still in existence in the Nineteen Seventies, of weak countries around it, 700,000,000 people, a Stalinist government and a nuclear power and a government determined on war as a means of bringing about its ultimate success, as potentially a more dangerous situation than any we have faced since the end of the Second World War."

By the same token, in his nationwide broadcast on July 26, 1963, Mr. Kennedy warned once again: "At many points around the globe, the Communists are continuing their effort to exploit weakness and poverty. Their concentration of nuclear and conventional arms must still be deterred." It suffices, so far as President Kennedy's remarks on the Communist menace are concerned, to prove that the American commitment in Vietnam is by no means in conflict with the American ideal. Inasmuch as no war is good, we should do our best to end all wars, civil and international. While curbing the Communist aggression is an imperative and justifiable end, to curb it by resorting to bloody war is not a good means in view of the fact that Communism, as a kind of ideology and philosophy, cannot as said before be defeated by guns and bombs. Whatever the motivation of our involvement in Vietnam, the use of force cannot but result in failure. It is, therefore, not unfair to regard the Vietnam War as immoral from the viewpoint of immense destruction and tremendous sacrifices of human life.

The Vietnam disputes should have been referred to the United Nations in the very beginning. Bypassing the world organization—the only appropriate channel for solving international disputes—and appealing to military confrontation is, of course, no small

mistake, no matter how noble the ideal may be. Fortunately, the Paris talks indicate that a peaceful settlement is at hand, and we sincerely hope that the bloody hostilities in Indo-China will be brought to an end soon. The concessions made by the parties concerned deserve credit.

(5) *Broader Vision and Greater Ideal*

To the contribution of the United States, more achievements of modern world should be attributed apart from that described previously. Let us quietly reflect for a moment what the world would be like had America not existed on earth. Although there are still so many world problems which need effective solution left unsolved, the possibility of getting the world-family in order is greater than ever before in consideration of the unprecedented progress of the science and technology of the West, especially the United States.

As a result of industrialization, the modernization of urban and rural life in many countries is no longer a dream. And in consequence of outstanding success in the field of space exploration, man's conception of the universe has changed all of a sudden, let alone man's philosophy of life. Particularly, since the American astronauts of Apollo 11 landed on the moon on July 20, 1969, the whole world outlook of mankind on this planet has been changed. Man, since then, realizes that the world in which we live is so small, the possibility of uncovering more mysteries of the universe is so great, and the solution to political, economic and social problems of the world is so urgent that we, the human beings of this tiny planet, must be ashamed of ourselves if we cannot live together peacefully as well as happily.

America, as scientifically the most advanced nation on earth, has to shoulder the responsibility of creating a new era and shaping a new world in accordance with its broader vision, which is no longer bound by such conventionally outmoded doctrines as ultra-nationalism, absolute sovereignty, militarism, totalitarianism, and racism. Rather, the United States is duty-bound to meet all the requirements of the new age in order that its own house together with the world-family will enjoy equal prosperity and permanent peace. With the remarkable advance of science and technology in America, it is not beyond our capacity to bring

about a new world totally free from ignorance, hunger, disease, slavery and war. In order to fulfill the mission resulting from the challenge of a new age, it behooves the Americans and the government to undertake the following seven primary tasks and get them done in the next twenty or thirty years.

Firstly, let us bridge the gap between the have and have-not countries. Nothing could be more deplorable than the fact that there is a group of highly industrialized nations whose people are living an affluent and luxurious life; whereas there is another group of nations whose people are miserably suffering from the menace of starvation and pestilence. Unrest, revolt, civil strife and international hostility are often the outcome of poverty, whose solution relies on the substantive economic and technical aid of the wealthy countries.

In his address to the United Nations General Assembly on October 23, 1970, President Nixon emphasized the urgency of helping the developing countries by saying: "I invite the leaders of the Soviet Union to join us in taking that new road—to join in a peaceful competition, not in the accumulation of arms but in the dissemination of progress; not in the building of missiles but in waging a winning war against hunger and disease and human misery in our own countries and around the globe. Let us compete in elevating the human spirit, in fostering the respect for law among nations, in promoting the work of peace. . . . It is in the world interest to avoid drifting into a widening division between have and have-not nations. Last month I proposed a major transformation of the American foreign-aid program. A major thrust of my proposals is to place large shares of American assistance under international agencies, in particular the World Bank, U.N. Development Program, the regional development banks. We seek to promote greater multilateral cooperation and the pooling of contributions through impartial international bodies."

The World Bank, an agent of the United Nations, is the largest dispenser of aid and in 1971 alone its development loans to poor countries totaled \$3 billion. Mr. Robert S. McNamara, President of the World Bank, told the Economic and Social Council on October 19, 1972 that the poor countries are growing in gross economic terms, but their individual lives are stagnating in human terms. He proposed a five-step program to attack the massive poverty in the developing nations.

He asserted: "(1) A goal should be set to increase the income of the poorest sections of a society at least as fast as its national average during the first five years of the program and faster than its national average during the following years. (2) The World Bank will assist in financing projects to reduce unemployment and underemployment. Rural and urban public works should be organized, including the low-cost housing construction, reforestation, irrigation and similar low-skill, labor-intensive, but economically useful projects. (3) The Bank will support reforms to redistribute economic power critically required in many developing countries. Among the changes needed are land reform, tax reform, credit and banking reform. (4) The Bank will assist in designing and financing programs to improve distribution of public services. These services often help the already privileged far more than the disadvantaged. (5) Policies should be undertaken to eliminate distortions in the prices of land, labor and capital, which provide subsidies to the rich and penalties for the poor."

Food shortages are common in poor countries. Accordingly, the rich countries should increase agriculture production so as to meet the urgent requirements of the developing world. Unfortunately, the U.S. government time and again cuts grain surplus with a view to lifting the farm prices. In October 1971, for example, Secretary of Agriculture Clifford M. Hardin announced a program that was designed to reduce the production of feed grains, including corn, grain, sorghums and barley, by at least 38 million acres in 1972. The grain surplus is not boundlessly abundant. How could America afford to supply food to the poor countries in large quantity in the event of a serious famine, were the surplus reduced instead of increased?

In 1965 the federal government allocated \$4 billion to American farmers for cutting their food production. This indicates, once again, the self-contradiction in the formation of foreign-aid policy. On the one hand Washington is conscious of the gravity of the food shortage in poor countries; on the other hand Washington encourages the farmers to limit their food output. George Borgstrom in his book *Hungry Planet* lays great stress on the significance of aiding the hungry people by saying that the victory in the fight for world supremacy may not go to the one who has accomplished the most spectacular celestial fireworks, but rather to the party which does something to alleviate the distress among

people of the earth. This is, in effect, very helpful service for the policymakers of Washington, even though Washington seeks no world supremacy.

Secondly, America should, in cooperation with other nations, take the initiative in solving the world's ecological problems. Pollution knows no boundary of nations. It cannot be tackled singlehandedly by one country. With steadily increasing population together with the indefinitely growing industry, not only will the world's available resources be exhausted but the environment will be further polluted to such an extent that the world will no longer be fitting for human survival. In order to lift the standard of living, every nation has to spur its economic growth and speed up its industrialization. Yet the outcome of economic growth gives rise to more pollution of the environment and quicker exhaustion of resources. Accordingly, all nations, rich and poor, are facing an inextricable dilemma.

Prof. Paul Ehrlich of Stanford University in his *The Population Bomb* points out that the American census report indicates that the population of the United States may grow by 75 million people by the end of the century. Each American, according to Prof Ehrlich's estimate, has roughly 50 times the negative impact on the earth's life-support systems as the average citizen of India. Therefore, in terms of eco-system destruction, adding 75 million more Americans will be the equivalent of adding 3.7 billion Indians to the world population.

Furthermore he declares that, from the standpoint of consumption of ever-scarcer nonrenewable resources, the additional Americans added will be equivalent to more than 2 billion Colombians, 10 billion Nigerians or 22 billion Indonesians. Let us carefully heed Prof. Ehrlich's warning: "Population growth has a disproportionate effect on environmental deterioration. We must make great efforts both to change our life style so as to reduce our per-capita impact on the environment, and to control our population, or disaster will overtake us. Ecological considerations indicate that only fifty million Americans, living as they do today, could eventually destroy the planet."⁸

The rich countries using three-quarters of the world's resources threaten the biosphere far more than the less developed

⁸Paul Ehrlich, "The Population Bomb," *New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1970.

countries. It is almost impossible to limit economic growth and consumption by changing people's life style, because once the standard of living is heightened it can hardly be lowered so far as human desire is concerned. Consequently, the question raised by the Club of Rome in relation to the limits to growth is in fact a hard nut to crack.

But with man's wisdom and the unceasing advance of science, the scarce resources may be enriched and the waste material may be recycled. In short, man-made trouble can be tackled by man himself. The progress of science and technology is boundless, the potential for new discoveries is immensely great, and the prospect for colonization on other planets is not a complete hallucination. However, the rich countries, especially the United States, must play a more important role in providing new technology and money for the solution of ecological problems.

Thirdly, modifying the weather in such a way as avoiding, at least decreasing, natural calamities such as drought and hurricane is another gigantic task on the shoulders of Americans. Rain-making is no longer a mystery. Dynamic seeding of clouds with silver crystals can produce dramatic increases in rainfall. In 1971, for instance, Southwest America, from Mississippi to the Pacific, was hit by severe drought. Farmers in Florida were ordered to cut back irrigation of crops by 20 percent. Lawn-sprinkling and car-washing were tightly restricted in Miami and other communities.

The Federal Experimental Meteorological Laboratory at the University of Miami was assigned in 1971 to carry out a rain-enhancement program which was in charge of Dr. Joanne Simpson, head of the laboratory, and Dr. William L. Woodley, project director. In mid-May 1971, a staff member of *U.S. News and World Report* went to Coral Gables airport for that year's rain-making operation, and reported: "The meteorologists clamber aboard a propeller-driven DC-6 loaded with electronic gear and take off in hope of modifying clouds so that they will produce rain. On each wing-tip is a pod carrying 104 silver iodide flares. The plane flies into the top of the cumulus clouds at around 20,000 feet altitude. Dr. Woodley sits just behind the pilot, holding a bombardier's switch with which he drops flares into the heart of a cloud. Falling some 12,000 feet, the flares leave a trail of silver iodide crystals. What happens inside the cloud was explained by Dr. Woodley: 'At 20,000 feet, the temperature is about minus-10 degrees Centigrade. The silver iodide is a triggering mechanism

that acts to freeze super-cooled water in the cloud. As the water freezes, heat is released. This causes an updraft that invigorates the cloud, makes it grow much larger and deliver more rain.'"⁹

Cloud-seeding to bring rain has been tried in various places in America. In Montana clouds over the watershed of Hungry Horse Reservoir, a federal power project, have been seeded for the past five winters; the snow pack on nearby mountains increased about 10 percent annually. Southern California Edison Company has tried to boost precipitation every year since 1951 for power-generation purposes. As a result, there is an average annual 8 percent increase. Santa Clara County Flood Control and Water District tried rain making continuously from 1955 through 1969. Consequently, rainfall increased 25 percent.¹⁰

Hurricanes are another dreadful natural disaster which caused 1,000 deaths and half a billion dollars in damage in America alone in 1915 through 1919. In the 1965-69 period, deaths dropped to under 500 but damage soared to over \$2.4 billion. The power of a hurricane may be weakened by dropping silver iodide crystals into the storm. The crystals, which will be carried around the eye by the winds, will force a premature release of energy, create a false wall around the eye, and may possibly quell some of the cyclonic fury. The scientific researchers are convinced that the damage caused by hurricanes may be decreased in no small measure in the years to come. At the same time, the federal government should earmark more funds for research so that the threat of hurricanes may be further eliminated, if not entirely set aside, in the near future.

By the same token, the menace of earthquakes, whose damage is more terrible than hurricanes may also be reduced immeasurably should the time of one's occurrence be exactly foretold by seismologists so that the inhabitants of the dangerous area can move to safe places in anticipation. Although it is a long way to go to get earthquakes under our control, we are convinced that with further research of the seismologists the possibility of preventing this disaster in some measure would be greater than ever before. To this significant matter Washington should pay more attention hereafter.

In May 1971 earthquake experts from 28 nations met in San

⁹*U.S. News and World Report*, May 31, 1971.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

Francisco and drew up many useful recommendations in the hope of saving lives and property. At the five-day conference the experts proposed that all existing information in engineering, geology, seismology, geodesy and oceanography should be systematically collected, both nationally and internationally, and that the information should be regularly updated and made available to any government or agency requiring it. They also suggested that more seismic risk maps should be provided and used to discourage land development in risky areas, and that a network of seismic detecting instruments be deployed around the world in all areas subject to major earthquakes. Were their suggestions put into effect by all governments concerned, it would of course minimize the earthquake hazard to a large extent.

Fourthly, the rebuilding of cities is another urgent task which should be undertaken by the United States government, whose initial step in this new project would encourage the city reform of the whole world. At the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in December 1967, Athelstan Spilhaus, president of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, and Buckminster Fuller, designer of futuristic domes and other structures, declared that the construction of beautiful, healthy, joyful and intellectually enriching cities are within our capacity.

Mr. Fuller predicts that the chief role of the city will ultimately be metaphysical, offering a forum for the exchange of ideas, learning and culture, rather than goods. The main idea of constructing a new city would permit no discharge of smoke or fumes into the atmosphere. Automobiles and trucks entering from outside the city would travel by tunnel, whose air would be drawn out through "fume sewers" to air-cleaning plants on the edge of town. Travel within the city would be by some revolutionary form of public transport—possibly in small pods that would carry a few people, via an automated rail system, from their homes to whatever destination they desired.

Through closed-circuit television and similar devices students will be able to study art at the local art museum. Their science classes will be presented at a science center. They can study business on-the-job at some local enterprise. At the same time Dr. John R. Pierce of the Bell Telephone Laboratories predicts that many people in the new city will communicate to work

instead of commute to work. Nuclear plants that can de-salt sea water and provide cheap power made it possible to build such new cities in arid regions. In the new cities, not only will wastes be removed via pipe, but goods will be delivered in this way. Homes will be built on a vast plumbing system through which goods will travel, coded for switching and shunting from store to home. Ultimately, travel times to all parts of the world will be pared from hours to minutes until the planet becomes the universal city of man or "ecumenopolis."¹¹

The construction of such new cities is of course based on imagination, the realization of which is simply a question of time. The United States, with its traditional spirit of loving novelty and adventure, will no doubt put the idea of building new cities into effect before long.

Fifthly, America must continue its space exploration in co-operation with the Soviet Union in the interest of the earth inhabitants. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have made unprecedented accomplishments in the field of planetary exploration since the first Sputnik went into orbit fifteen years ago. Prior to the first men landed on the moon, American scientists landed instruments there and radioed back impressive information on the chemical composition of the lunar surface. In July, 1972 Venus 8 of the Soviet Union soft-landed on Venus and radioed back signals indicating that the surface of Venus at the point sampled resembles granitic rocks found on earth, and that sunlight does penetrate to the surface through the dense cloud cover. The extreme temperatures and pressures on the day side of Venus differ not much from those measured by earlier Soviet probes on the night side.

Mars and Venus are the earth's two closest neighbors. In 1971 an American Mariner vehicle which was sent into orbit around Mars photographed most of its surface. An American pioneer rocket has been moving through the asteroid belt on its long journey toward Jupiter. The task of planetary exploration requires a long period of time as well as a tremendously large quantity of money. In consideration of the remote, undemonstrative and indirect advantage resulting from space exploration, many people in this country have from time to time voiced protest against it.

¹¹Walter Sullivan's report, *The New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1967.

While admitting that American domestic problems and the requirements of the earth's inhabitants must be first tackled and met, we should in no way neglect the significance of planetary studies, which cannot be separated from our national and international well-being.

Now that we have more knowledge of the moon, which might be a permanent settlement of human beings, it behooves the United States to cooperate with the Soviet Union concluding a moon treaty. There is a long-range requirement for a legal stipulation concerning human activity on this newly-explored planet. To make the moon an international property ruled by a world organization is imperative. Although the probability for human settlement on the moon is decades away, a legal code for an open moon in the interest of mankind must be framed through the joint effort of the United States and the Soviet Union. The landing of the Apollo astronauts has paved the way for millions of men and women to visit and even live on the moon in the centuries ahead. Undoubtedly, there will be such a day when people will rocket from earth to moon as readily as they now take a trip from Washington to Paris. Thus, the internationalization of the moon must be considered one of American foreign policy, and the same policy should be applied to other planets with a similar objective.

Sixthly, to discover and communicate with intelligent beings of other worlds is a new and adventurous task of America which should not be pooh-poohed as merely wishful thinking. It is interesting to note that this matter has been discussed by a group of American and Soviet scientists—some of them are Nobel laureates—assembled in September 1971 in Soviet Armenia. They probed the possibility that distant worlds are inhabited by intelligent beings. Meanwhile, they explored techniques for communicating with them. This meeting was sponsored by the Soviet and American Academies of Science and organized by Dr. Losif S. Shklovsky, a noted astronomical theorist, and Dr. Carl Sagan of Cornell University, a specialist in planetary exploration. These two thinkers argued that intelligent life and technological civilization have arisen on planets in orbits around stars other than our sun.

The difficulty of communicating with other planets is that even the nearest stars are several light-years away. A light flash

or radio signal would take several years to reach them. In the Milky Way galaxy of which we are a part, most stars are thousands of light-years away, making impossible any exchange of messages within a human lifetime. Dr. Frank Drake of Cornell was of the opinion that, within a few years, when upgrading of the giant bowl antenna at Arecibo in Puerto Rico is finished, that instrument would be able to communicate with a similar instrument on any planet in this half of the Milky Way. The problem, however, to which no one has found a solution, is where to aim the signal, at what frequency to send it, and when.

Mr. Walter Sullivan pointed out that the question of "when" evokes one of the major imponderables: How long does a technological civilization survive? Unless many of them endure very long periods, perhaps millions of years, the chances that one in this part of the universe happens now to be at the communicative stage are remote. He also informed that it was agreed that communications between beings with little in common would be difficult, but most felt not insuperable. Dr. Marvin Minsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology proposed that a more advanced species could first tell us how to build a computer and how to program it. By speaking to us through the computer the advanced species could tell us "how things are done in a way that would be close to impossible via coded signals alone."¹²

The imaginative observations made by these leading scientists, though it seems to be the fictitious story of a novelist, are so creative and significant that the adventurous Americans will surely make every effort to make the scientific dream a reality sooner or later. Development in this field would be extremely beneficial to all human beings on earth. According to Mr. Sullivan's report there was wide agreement, based on the latest astronomical and biological reasoning, that great numbers of other worlds have probably developed along lines very similar to the earth in its early history.

It was also agreed among the scientists in the conference that life might exist on a certain percentage of these worlds, and that on some of them such life might have evolved into an intelligent technological species. Such civilizations in various parts of the universe could be trying to make contact with other civilizations.

¹²Walter Sullivan, "Man Listens, or Life on Worlds Afar," *New York Times*, Sept. 12, 1971.

The conference decided that an interim committee be formed to organize a permanent international group to coordinate research in this field. Two areas of search were proposed. One would concentrate on the several hundred nearest stars and other nearby objects where "astro-engineering" activity by a super-civilization might be modifying celestial bodies. The other area of search would seek the beacons of any far more distant super-civilizations. In this area an entire galaxy of billions of stars could be scanned at once for any indication of variable emission or signal.

Recent research has strengthened the argument that on any earth-like planet a rich soup of the chemicals necessary for life's origin is likely to develop. Dr. Francis H. C. Crick of Cambridge University, the Nobel prize-winning biologist, said that once life has arisen and the process of natural selection has begun, evolution moves forward with almost irresistible momentum. Life on other worlds, as Dr. Crick observes, is not impossible, but our knowledge is still insufficient for an assessment.

Scientific discovery, like philosophy, relies on wonder, creative imagination and presupposition. The aforetold arguments with regard to the life of other planets, as based on hypothesis, may and may not be verified in our lifetime. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to encourage the astronomers, biologists and other scientists concerned to further their research so that more new discoveries concerning other worlds might be made hereafter. With the marvelously swift progress of American technology the possibility of uncovering more mysteries of the universe would be greater day by day. The more the mystery of other planets is discovered, the broader is the vision of the earth-man. Accordingly, the studies of life of other worlds not only enrich our horizon of knowledge but furnish us who are living on earth with more opportunity for finding better and quicker solutions to the complex problems of the present-day world.

Inasmuch as the resources of the earth are limited and world population is steadily expanding, many scientists, especially the ecologists, set forth the warning that, if the current trend of growth is allowed to persist, the breakdown of society and the irreversible disruption of the life-support system on this planet—possibly by the end of the century—are bound to happen. The document entitled "Blueprint for Survival" prepared by *The Ecologist* periodical was endorsed by 33 scientists in January 1972. They maintain that man must now forget about industrialization

and growth and aim at a stable society characterized by a steady or declining population, decentralized living and strict limits on the use of resources.

Another interesting story regarding the future of the solar system was stated by some distinguished scientists in Chicago on January 31, 1968 at the annual meeting of the American Physical Society. Dr. Freeman Dyson of the Institute for Advanced study at Princeton, and Dr. Anthony Turkvich, professor of chemistry at the University of Chicago, were present at the meeting. Their observation concerning the interior of the sun differs from the present ideas. It is predicted that, some five billion years hence, when the interior hydrogen of the sun is exhausted, the outer shell of hydrogen will begin to burn and the sun will swell into a red giant, destroying all life in the solar system.

This hypothesis may and may not be proved true after five billion years or so. Even if this reasoning is valid, the earth-man by that time would in all probability emigrate to another world beyond the solar system. Who can dogmatically assert that there is no intelligent civilization on some stars? With the steady progress of space exploration, and with the new facilities of inter-planetary communication provided by new technology, what seems to be a sort of dream of this generation will become reality in the generations to come. Thus, our sacred mission today is twofold: on the one hand we must leave no stone unturned to further our adventure in the field of planetary exploration; on the other hand we, as human beings of the earth, must do our utmost to solve all the urgent problems such as pollution, disarmament, terrorism, racism, etc. But these world problems, as I mentioned previously, cannot be tackled short of a genuine representative world organization which is far more effective and powerful than the existing United Nations.

Seventhly, America, if it desires to get its ideal fully realized, has to take the initiative and act in concert with other powers to hasten the reconstruction of the United Nations, which must be transformed into a real world government. The reason why its formation is imperative has time and again been described in detail in previous chapters. Here what I intend to set forth more emphatically is that colonialism has, since World War II, been almost completely brought to an end. Nearly all former colonies have become independent nations.

In consequence of planetary communication we know that the

earth, compared with the numerous other worlds of the universe, is merely a particle of sand. Accordingly, the world is exactly like a small family whose members, like brothers and sisters, must love one another so as to live together peacefully and happily. Nothing could be more irrational than hatred and bloody hostility between nations. Now is the time to turn the swords into ploughshares, if mankind prefers survival rather than destruction.

Evidently, internationalism must be substituted for nationalism; interdependence and cooperation should replace absolute sovereignty and strife; peaceful competition in cultural, scientific, technical and economic development is the prerequisite of co-existence; the only war we should continue on earth is the war against poverty, disease, ignorance, crime, terrorism, racism, pollution, narcotic drugs, plutocracy and tyranny. Indeed, we, the human beings living on this tiny earth, are not entitled to be called civilized creatures unless and until we have won the war against the aforesaid common enemies of the world. So long as these evils remain on earth, we should be ashamed of terming world history a record of civilization. In other words, we shall be regarded as barbarians either by the people of the next generation or by the inhabitants of other planets.

The main reason why the United Nations has been incapable of settling international disputes as effectively as expected is the non-cooperation among its members, especially the superpowers. This reminds us of the fate of the League of Nations. No sensible man can deny that the only salvation for mankind is an effective, competent and universally represented world government which functions as the real world body-politic of mankind, by mankind, for mankind. The statesmen of every country cannot but realize that world government is the sole channel through which alone earth-men can live together peacefully and survive continuously.

While the complete implementation of the world body-politic is a long way off, we must march in this direction right away. America's unavoidable duty today is to take the initiative in cooperation with other powers to press for the transformation of the United Nations in accordance with the proposed procedure suggested in these pages. We should not be so naive as hoping to get the world government formed in a day. It will take at the very least a decade or so to make all the inhabitants on earth international-minded and fully realizing that human interest is

above national interest, human sovereignty is above national sovereignty; and that the only chance for continuing human existence hinges upon an effective administration of the world government. As soon as all political leaders of various nations together with their citizens are enlightened by the new consciousness that the world government is the sole alternative for world anarchy and world destruction, the stumbling-block to the rebuilding of a new world organization will be removed.

It is the question of determination and vision rather than impossibility and difficulty. Such a gigantic task as shaping the world's destiny cannot, of course, be achieved without first of all arousing the enthusiasm of all people of different lands for action through education and press media. In fact, the educators as well as journalists all the world over have to shoulder this responsibility of awakening mankind by enforcing world public opinion. As soon as the masses of people apprehend the significance of the interdependence of nations, then the way to the formation of a genuine world government is well paved. It is indubitable that world affairs must be administered in consonance with world public opinion so as to head off oligarchy and dictatorship.

The philosophy of world-family and brotherhood of men has long been advocated by great thinkers and religious leaders of both East and West. Unfortunately, their voice was drowned in the clamor of blind patriotism and chauvinist militarism which have brought to mankind constant bloody wars and chaos.

As I mentioned previously, now is the time for people of the whole world to rededicate themselves to the old maxims related to internationalism, especially those of Mo Tzu (Chinese philosopher, 5th-4th cent. B.C.) and Thomas Paine (American philosopher, 1737-1809). Mo Tzu's saying, "Regard others' country as my own country," together with Thomas Paine's saying, "The world is my country; all mankind are my brethren," should be used as government mottoes of all nations and memorized by every citizen of the whole world.

With a view to hastening the realization of the world-family ideal and pressing for the rebuilding of a world government, many farsighted scholars in this country cooperating with the prominent thinkers of other nations have of late set up international organizations to call for the attention of the world to the necessity of instituting a world government. Of numerous groups championing

for the common cause there are three organizations worthy of our notice. One is the "World Association of World Federalists." The second is the "American Movement for World Government," which issued a Declaration of Interdependence signed by many distinguished persons on July 4, 1971. The third is the "Planetary Citizen Registration Campaign" which, endorsed by leading intellectuals and scientists of 32 countries, issued a Human Manifesto on May 21, 1972.

The World Federalists believe that: (1) The most important business on earth is the management of our planet for the safety and well-being of the human species. (2) National governments are no longer capable of safeguarding the conditions of human existence. (3) The rule of force among nations, like the rule of force among individuals, creates a situation of anarchy. Anarchy among nations is even more dangerous than anarchy within nations. World anarchy has a nuclear fuse attached to it. (4) The most important problems on earth today are no longer national problems but world problems: war and peace, the rapid poisoning of the oceans, the dangerous decrease of oxygen in the air, the depletion of the earth's resources, the rapid growth of the world's population. These world problems call for effective world agencies and institutions. (5) The United Nations does not now possess enforceable authority over international lawbreakers. (6) The national governments should give up the right to molest or attack or interfere with the sovereignty of other nations, or to pursue policies that are against the human interest.

The World Federalists have branches in 36 nations. The name of the American branch is World Federalists, USA, whose president is Joseph S. Clark, former United States Senator.

In its Declaration of Interdependence the American movement for World Government has stipulated the following principles as its essentials: (1) A constitution with a Bill of Rights. (2) A popularly elected legislature to enact world laws. (3) A world court to interpret these laws, with compulsory jurisdiction over world disputes. (4) A civilian executive branch with the power to enforce world laws directly upon individuals. (5) A system of checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power by any branch of the world government. (6) The control of all weapons of mass destruction by the world government with the disarmament of all nations, under careful inspection, down to

the level required for internal policing. (7) Carefully defined and limited power of taxation to support those functions necessary to world peace and the solution of problems affecting, to a vital degree, the welfare of mankind. (8) Reasonable provision for amendments to the constitution. (9) Participation in the world federal government to be open at all times to all nations without right of secession. (10) All powers not expressly delegated to the world government to be reserved to the nations and their peoples, thus leaving each nation to choose its own political, social and economic system.

The Planetary Citizen Registration Campaign declared in its Human Manifesto that we have the obligation to free our world of war by creating an enduring basis for worldwide peace; to safeguard the natural environment and develop the world's resources; to place human sovereignty above national sovereignty; and to make human rights the primary concern of society. This organization calls, however, for strengthening the United Nations rather than turning it into the world government. But their basic ideal for shaping a genuine world-family is identical with ours.

Above all, leading the whole world to live a life of peace, freedom, prosperity and democracy is the solemn duty of America. We are living in a world of diversity which calls for the co-existence of various social, economic, political and religious systems. No philosophy or system, including Socialism, Communism, Co-wealthism, etc., should claim to be exclusive. In the world of change man should by no means stick to what is already outmoded. Fear of change leads man to degeneration and ruin.

People in the East and West, Communists and non-Communists, can not afford to neglect what Somerset Maugham and Charles Chaplin warned. Maugham admonished: "If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that, if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too."

Charles Chaplin in his speech in *The Great Dictator* declared: "We want to live by each other's happiness—not by each other's misery. We don't want to hate and despise one another. . . . The way of life can be free and beautiful, but we have lost the way. Greed has poisoned men's souls—has barricaded the world with hate—has goose-stepped us into misery and bloodshed. We have developed speed, but we have shut ourselves in. Machinery that

gives abundance has left us in want. Our knowledge has made us cynical; our cleverness, hard and unkind. We think too much and feel too little. More than machinery we need humanity. More than cleverness, we need kindness and gentleness. Without these qualities, life will be more violent and all will be lost. . . . Don't give yourselves to these brutes—who despise you—enslave you—who regiment your lives—tell you what to do—what to think and what to feel. Who drill you—diet you—treat you like cattle and use you as cannon fodder. . . . Now let us fight to free the world—to do away with national barriers—to do away with greed, with hate and intolerance. Let us fight for a world of reason—a world where science and progress will lead to the happiness of us all.”

Evidently, the present-day world is far from being a world of reason. To make reason prevail is the responsibility of all, let alone the Americans, who are more bound by moral obligation than all other peoples in view of their immense economic power and technological superiority. Meanwhile, now is the time for all Communist countries to realize that blindly sticking to the forced maintenance of out-moded ideologies such as Marxism blocks the road to progress and happiness. A decade ago Piotr Kapitsa, the best-known physicist in the Soviet Union, wrote that, had Soviet scientists obeyed Marxist philosophers, they would have rejected cybernetics and excluded Russia from the space race.

The leading scientists in the Soviet Union, like Andrei Sakharov, a prominent nuclear scientist, Zhores Medvedev, the noted anti-Lysenkoist, and the late Lev Landau, another physicist, have advocated freedom of thought and human rights. Sakharov believes that liberal democratic reform, including a multiparty system, can insure freedom in the Soviet Union. He rejects the class war as a method of attaining social progress. It is really regrettable on the part of the Kremlin that Solzhenitsyn's travel abroad was prevented; Rostropovich's performance in a foreign country was banned; and innocent writers were imprisoned in insane asylums.

The intellectuals in Communist China have suffered more than the Soviet's scholars in consequence of frequent persecutions. President Nixon's visit to Peking and Moscow indicates his hope of improving relations with these two Communist giants. His effort for bringing about detente and peace between ideologically different nations deserves to be complimented on the ground that,

through closer communication and frequent exchange of ideas, not only will world tension be eased but rigid dogma will be revised and changed.

It would be an invaluable contribution of America to the Communist nations if Washington takes the initiative to convince the Communist leaders that liberal revisionism should, for the benefit of themselves, be substituted for absolute dogmatism. Living a life of freedom is the common aspiration of all, and to make the common aspiration a reality should be considered the primary duty of America. It is a long way to go, but we must start here and now.

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